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ABSTRACT

The Youth Incentive Entitlement Pilot Projects were set up to aid disadvantaged youths, ages 16 to 19, by guaranteeing them a part-time job during the school year and a full-time job during summer months on the condition that they remain in, or return to, a secondary school or enroll in an equivalent education program. The program was started in January, 1978, and enrolled more than 59,000 youths in 17 communities across the country by November, 1979. A study was conducted to assess the quality of the work setting created for the Entitlement participants, and, incidentally, to define a "quality work experience" for possible application to future programs. The study involved field visits by experienced assessors to a random sample of 520 worksites. Data were collected on job content, participant-to-supervisor ratios, presence of work sponsor job performance standards, and characterstics of the work process. Finally, assessments of the value and quality of the jobs from the perspectives of three parties--the youths, their work sponsors, and independent field assessors, were recorded. Analysis of the data showed that about 85-90 percent of worksites were adequate or better: and that only a very small proportion of worksites involved "make-work," while a very large proportion provided "meaningful" work that might lead to future employment opportunities, that kept youths busy, that was valuable to the sponsors, and that satisfied the youths. A slower start-up of the project and more careful worksite monitoring may likely have reduced the incidence of inadequate worksites in the demonstration. (KC)

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THE QUALITY OF WORK

IN THE

YOUTH ENTITLEMENT DEMONSTRATION

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Preface

In proposing the Youth Incentive Entitlement Pilot Projects, Congress asked that the program be designed to address a number of questions on the impact, feasibility and nature of the demonstration. One of the questions related to the ability of the program managers to provide meaningful work assignments for youths.

As experience with national youth employment programs has grown, both Congress and the Department of Labor have increasingly turned their attention to the issue of the quality of work provided in these programs. Policymakers have shown a concern with monitoring the work experience of participants in all programs to ensure that they were not engaged, in the words of the Youth Act, in "make-work" activities, but were employed productively -- in jobs that kept them busy, involved clear assignments and standards, responsible supervision, and a reasonable level of skill development.

As a large-scale program that guarantees work for all eligible youths, Entitlement poses special challenges to the achievement of this goal. Initially, these challenges were heightened by the rapid start-up the demonstration, which required that, in a short period of time, large numbers of jobs be developed and matched to enrollees. Other factors in the demonstration which might have a bearing on the quality of its work assignments included the need for the development of both part-time school year and full-time summer worksites and the endeavor throughout most of the demonstration to include private sector employers among worksite sponsors. This study attempts to assess the ability of the local Entitlement programs to provide a quality work experience

to youths within the framework of these challenges.

While there is some general agreement among program operators and policy analysts as to which features contribute to a good worksite, the art of assessing the relative impact of these features upon the quality of work with any degree of precision is still an uncertain one. Consequently, some attempt has been made in this study to develop a more rigorous definition of a meaningful work experience, with a focus on the relative importance of its various components. While neither the definition nor the findings in this report can be considered conclusive, this analysis should nevertheless contribute both to our understanding of what constitutes meaningful work and to an actual evaluation of the CETA system's ability to provide such an experience through Entitlement.

Judith Gueron
Executive Vice President

ENTITLEMENT SITES AND CETA PRIME SPONSORS

Tier I

Site	Prime Sponsor
Baltimore, Maryland	Mayor's Office of Manpower Resources
Boston, Massachusetts	Employment and Economic Policy Administration
Cincinnati, Ohio	City of Cincinnati Employment and Training Division
Denver, Colorado	Denver Employment and Training Administration
Detroit, Michigan	Employment and Training Department
King-Snohomish Counties, Washington	King-Snohomish Manpower Consortium
Southern Rural Mississippi	Governor's Office of Job Development and Training

Tier II

Alachua County, Florida	Alachua County CETA
Albuquerque, New Mexico	City of Albuquerque Office of CETA
Berkeley, California	Office of Employment and Community Programs
Dayton, Ohio	Office of the City Manager Manpower Planning and Management
Monterey County, California	Monterey CETA Administration
Nashua County, New Hampshire	Southern New Hampshire Services/CETA
New York, New York	Department of Employment of the City of New York

Site	Prime Sponsor
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	City of Philadelphia Area Manpower Planning Council
Steuben County, New York	Steuben County Manpower Administration
Syracuse, New York	City of Syracuse Office of Federal and State Aid Coordination

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Youth Incentive Entitlement Pilot Projects demonstration, created under the Youth Act of 1977 (PL95-93), established a job guarantee in 17 communities for disadvantaged 16-19 year olds, conditional on their returning to or remaining in high school. The demonstration is managed by local CETA prime sponsors, who were chosen competitively from a field of 153 applicants. An important criterion for their selection was the ability of the prime sponsor to generate enough commitments from local public, nonprofit, and for-profit employers to provide a part-time school year and full-time summer job for every eligible youth who enrolled during the demonstration. The Entitlement prime sponsors began enrollment in the spring of 1978 and by June had assigned over 21,000 youths to jobs, nearly all at the minimum wage. Over 19,000 of the youths were assigned at seven large-scale, Tier I programs, encompassing full or partial central city areas or multi-county regions. The remaining youths were at ten Tier II programs, covering less populated areas or very small portions of a city. By November 1979, with turnover and through continuous youth enrollment and worksite development, over 59,000 youths had worked for over 8,000 separate work sponsors in the demonstration.

This report assesses the quality of the work settings created for the Entitlement participants. There are several reasons to undertake such an evaluation. First, the Congress specified in its statement of intent to the several demonstrations in the Youth Act that work experience for youth shall not be "make-work" but shall lead to "meaningful

employment opportunities" after program participation. It is therefore necessary to determine the extent to which these goals have been met in the Entitlement demonstration. Second, an assessment of the quality of Entitlement worksites may contribute to an understanding of the process of implementing a job guarantee program for youth, and the conditions under which good quality can be established. For instance, is there any loss of quality when large numbers of jobs have to be developed, as in Tier I projects, compared to the smaller-scale development at Tier II sites? Has the authorization to establish subsidized work sponsor agreements with private businesses enhanced the quality of Entitlement worksites? Are full-time summer worksites different in quality from part-time school-year worksites? What circumstances in the establishment of Entitlement programs or in the job development and worksite monitoring practices of prime sponsors may have affected the quality of the worksites developed?

The guaranteed job and any resulting increase in the amount of schooling that participants receive in Entitlement are intended to effect post-program improvements in employment and earnings. Thus, another reason to assess Entitlement worksites is to inform the analysis of these impacts. Information on the quality of Entitlement worksites can contribute to an overall understanding of the benefit that the program provides to participants.

A final reason to assess Entitlement worksites is to gain greater understanding of what constitutes "quality." Criteria set forth by the Congress are not specific; in general, policy analysts and program operators agree on what features contribute to good worksites, but there

is less consensus on which features are most important. The process whereby youth acquire good work skills, and the means by which work experiences can best foster those skills are complex phenomena to assess. This report makes some effort to explore the determinants of worksite quality.

To assess worksites for these several purposes, this study involved field visits by 19 experienced assessors to a random sample of 520 worksites that sponsored youth at some time during the period September 1978 through November 1979. Data were collected on many aspects of the work experience, including structural characteristics such as job content, participant to supervisor ratios, presence of work sponsor job performance standards; and characteristics of the work process, including frequency and content of supervisor-youth interaction and extent to which youths were kept busy on the job. Finally, assessments of the value and quality of the jobs from the perspectives of three parties -- the youths, their work sponsors, and independent field assessors -- were recorded.

Worksites Assessed by Characteristics and Particular Criteria

No single factor is sufficient to assure a high quality work experience, so Entitlement worksites were assessed in many different ways, by a variety of factors which are often cited as fostering good work habits. Judged by the relative intensity of these several characteristics, a fairly uniform profile of the worksite sample begins to emerge:

- The great majority of worksites in the sample appear to have provided enough work for participants. Youth and their work sponsors reported that youth were generally busy at over four-fifths of the worksites, and field assessors found them generally busy at over two-thirds of the jobs sampled. At only 5 percent of worksites were youths reported rarely busy by either the youths or their work sponsors. Field assessors found youths seldom fully busy at 13 percent of the worksites.

- Eighty percent of the worksites had participant-to-supervisor ratios of less than three-to-one, and this is partially a result of the small size of most worksites. All but one-fifth had fewer than five youth.

- Jobs were generally fairly low skilled -- in maintenance, clerical, and retail service positions -- but at nearly 40 percent of worksites, task variety and responsibility increased for the youth over time; nearly three-fourths of the positions required some mental skills, including reading, arithmetic, and dealing with customers or the public.

- In responses to 13 questions designed to gauge the content, quality, or frequency of youths' interactions with their supervisors, over two-thirds of the worksites displayed at least seven positive characteristics, and fewer than 10 percent had less than four.

- Youths indicated an awareness of performance and attendance standards at two-thirds of worksites and understood their job assignment clearly at almost all jobs (over nine-tenths).

- The work youths were doing appears to have been valued by employers. On three related dimensions designed to gauge output and its congruence with the sponsor's mission, three-fifths of work sponsors found the work valuable on all three measures, and four-fifths reported that work of value on at least two of the three.

- One-third of the youths judged the work experience valuable on at least three of four criteria designed to gauge expectation of future employment, acquisition of a job history, and youths' perceptions that work sponsors value the work. One-fifth reported the assignment of no value.

- At nine out of ten of the worksites youths were satisfied with their assignment. Less than 10 percent found the job unacceptable.

- On an index composed of 14 characteristics of good work quality, three-fourths of the worksites were reported to have at least nine of the 14, over nine-tenths had at least seven; and less than 10 percent had fewer than seven characteristics.

- Over 86 percent of the worksites were judged adequate or better by field assessors, and 13 percent were found less than adequate. Fourteen percent of all worksites were judged outstanding.

The individual and composite measures form a pattern. They appear to indicate that between 85 and 90 percent of worksites were adequate or better, and 10 to 15 percent were less than adequate. With respect to judgements that the work might lead to future employment opportunities, that the youths' output was valuable to sponsors, that the youths were kept busy, and that the youths were satisfied with their assignments, the pattern of findings also appears to indicate that only a very small proportion of worksites were "make-work," while a very large proportion were "meaningful."

In general, there were not substantial differences in quality between worksites in the large Tier I and smaller Tier II sites, or between worksites visited during the summer full-time and school-year part-time periods. There were also no significant differences between worksites in the public, nonprofit, and for-profit sectors. There were, however, some differences among worksites along certain specific dimensions. Site assessors were somewhat more likely to rate Tier II worksites better than those in Tier I; Tier II worksites involved closer youth-supervisor interaction, and were twice as likely to have at least 11 of 14 positive characteristics on a composite work quality index. Youths at private sector worksites were more likely to think their jobs would lead to future employment opportunities than youths at public and nonprofit worksites.

Several factors in the implementation of the Entitlement projects, particularly in the early stages, may account for the presence of at least some of the inadequate worksites in the random sample. The very rapid enrollment growth in 1978, especially at the Tier I sites, combined

with the unique job guarantee character of the demonstration, strained the operational capacity of the prime sponsor staffs at the outset. During the first months, there was little opportunity at the largest projects to attend to careful worksite development or to monitor worksites for quality until other program activities were stabilized. Also in the beginning, program staffs often assigned youths to large worksites, which tended to be of lower quality, in order to ensure that youths received their job quarantee quickly. Over the course of the demonstration, however, large worksites tended to be weeded out as job development caught up with the pace of enrollment. This suggests that a slower start-up pace and more careful worksite monitoring would very likely have reduced the incidence of inadequate worksites in the demonstration.

Since there does not exist a strong consensus on which characteristics of good worksites are the most important components of good quality, the study analyzed statistically which factors made the greatest relative contribution to quality ratings reached by the three parties -- the youth, their supervisors and the assessors. Assessors placed the greatest weight on the skill and enrichment content of the job, its capacity to keep the youths busy, satisfaction of the youths with their jobs, and the work sponsor's judgment that the work was valuable. Work sponsors and youths also placed great store in the youths being kept busy, but in addition, these directly involved parties valued the content and frequency of interaction between supervisors and youths. Youths also tended to favor jobs in the private sector and being held to performance standards, particularly the same standards as regular agency employees.

Work sponsors also placed weight on the presence of standards, as well as on youths' satisfaction with the job assignment. In the judgment of all three groups, high ratios of youths to supervisors tended to lower the quality of the job. Both the youths and the independent assessors tended to give lower scores to worksites where work was simple, repetitious and required primarily physical labor.

The determinants of worksite quality were also examined from a "developmental" perspective. Worksite characteristics were separated into "structural" characteristics of the job assignment such as job skill content, supervisor background, ratio of participants to supervisors; and "process" dimensions such as supervisor-youth interactions and the degree to which youth were kept busy. Analysis of the interaction among these characteristics tends to support the plausible judgment that initial job characteristics set the framework for the work process that follows. This suggests the importance for prime sponsors to emphasize the initial screening of jobs, work sponsors, and youth assignment levels, rather than to rely upon later worksite monitoring to correct deficiences. With respect to worksite monitoring, implementation experience suggests that, since the work guarantee allows youths to transfer from one worksite to another, and since a fairly high turnover of work sponsors does not appear to exhaust the stock of available jobs, especially because it is possible to recruit private businesses into the program, the most expedient means for improving worksite quality appears to be to terminate poor work sponsors and reassign participants to better ones.

The methods of data collection and content analysis used in this

study suggest a fruitful approach to assessing work experience and other developmental settings. Although exploratory in nature, findings from the several methods of analysis applied here do indicate fairly clearly that it is possible to entitle large numbers of youths to year-round jobs of adequate or better quality. Relatively careful job development and the generally mutual interests of youths and work sponsors in avoiding make-work are major factors contributing to a good quality work experience in Entitlement.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Work Experience in the Entitlement Demonstration

One component of the Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects Act of 1977 is a demonstration to test the feasibility and effect of a job guarantee conditioned on school enrollment. In selected areas, every economically disadvantaged youth between the ages of 16 and 19 who agrees to remain in school or return to school and work toward a diploma or its equivalency is entitled to paid work experience, for up to 20 hours a week during the school year and 40 hours a week during the summer. The demonstration is the first national test of a guaranteed employment program and the largest demonstration of a year-round work experience for youths.

This program, the Youth Incentive Entitlement Pilot Projects, also known as the Youth Entitlement Demonstration, has been operating in 17 areas since early 1978, directed by CETA prime sponsors who were selected through a competitive process from over 150 that applied for a project grant. In November 1979, over 25,000 youths were enrolled and assigned to work experience at the 17 program sites, which are divided into two major groups or tiers, as Table 1-1 indicates.[1] Large-scale Tier I programs, where assigned enrollees have generally numbered from 1,000 to 6,000, are intended to test the large-scale and city-wide effects of the

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[1] Turnover of enrollees for reasons that included high school graduation, resignation, or termination or failure to maintain standards of school or work performance, resulted in a cumulative total of over 59,000 youths who had ever been assigned to a job through November 1979.

TABLE 1-1

SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF PROGRAMS AND WORKSITES
IN THE YOUTH ENTITLEMENT DEMONSTRATION
AT THE END OF NOVEMBER 1979

Program	Entitlement Area	Number of Youth Assigned[a]	Percentage Distribution of Active Work Sponsors by Sector			
			Public[b]	Non-Profit	For-Profit	Total
Tier I						
Baltimore	Four complete high school districts and part of a fifth	5,990	23.7	33.3	43.0	100.0
Boston	Four school districts; parts of seven others	4,180	29.5	38.7	31.7	100.0
Cincinnati	Entire city	1,860	24.4	49.9	25.7	100.0
Denver	Entire city	550	31.9	30.3	37.8	100.0
Detroit	Five School Districts	4,670	25.3	21.2	53.5	100.0
King-Snohomish	King and Snohomish counties including the city of Seattle	1,220	54.0	32.4	13.6	100.0
Mississippi	Nineteen rural counties located in a belt across the state	4,340	52.6	9.9	37.6	100.0
Total Tier I		22,810	34.7	29.0	36.3	100.0
Tier II						
Alachua County	Two School Districts emcompassing urban and rural areas	110	80.0	3.3	16.7	100.0
Albuquerque	One School District	320	98.3	1.7	0.0	100.0
Berkeley	Entire city	430	42.6	54.3	3.2	100.0
Dayton	One census tract	40	27.3	72.7	0.0	100.0
Hillsborough	Entire city of Nashua	100	4.9	29.5	65.6	100.0
Monterey	One School District in a predominantly rural area	130	32.8	6.0	61.2	100.0
New York	Part of one School District in Brooklyn	560	10.5	34.6	54.9	100.0
Philadelphia	One census tract in North Philadelphia	160	8.3	36.7	55.0	100.0
Steuben County	Seven School Districts in rural Steuben County, New York	100	22.2	0.0	77.8	100.0
Syracuse	Entire city	410	34.4	42.6	23.0	100.0
Total Tier II		2,360	32.1	30.7	37.2	100.0
Total Demonstration		25,170	34.4	29.2	36.4	100.0

SOURCE: Original Entitlement proposals and tabulations of status and Monthly Performance Report data in the Youth Entitlement Demonstration Information System.

NOTES: [a]An assigned youth is one who is actively working at a job at the end of the month. The numbers has been rounded to the nearest ten youths.

[b]Public worksites include both public schools and other government agencies.

[c]Non-profit worksites include private educational institutions as well as non-profit organizations.

job guarantee. Smaller Tier II programs, some of which are large enough to entitle all youths in smaller cities and some of which are only large enough to entitle youths in school-district areas, are intended primarily to test innovative program features. In addition, Congress authorized the use of the job guarantee with work sponsors in the private business sector (at subsidies up to full-wage cost), as well as in public and nonprofit agencies. Table 1-1 shows that in November 1979 roughly one-third of the work sponsors were in each sector.

The Department of Labor designated the Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation (MDRC) to coordinate the operation of the 17 projects and to direct the large-scale research on their feasibility and impact which Congress had mandated. One component of the research assesses the impact of the program upon eligible youths in Entitlement communities. It addresses such issues as the proportion of eligible youths who choose to participate; the effect of participation upon school retention, return to school of drop-outs, and high school or equivalency completion; and the combined effect of schooling and the guaranteed work experience upon future employment and earnings of participants. A complementary research component addresses processes and short-term consequences of program implementation: i.e., the effect of program administration practices upon the choice of eligibles to participate; job development efforts to provide the job guarantee, and the adequacy of the supply of available work experience positions; and the response of school, manpower, and labor market institutions to the coordination requirements of the school-tied job guarantee.

Additional components of the research include an analysis of program

costs and an estimation of the cost of operating the program were it to be extended to other areas; an assessment of the implementation of the work experience with private businesses; a study of program implementation in rural areas; experiments to test different wage subsidy levels with private sector work sponsors; an assessment of the labor market displacement effects of program job creation; and other studies.[1]

An important issue in implementing the Entitlement job guarantee is the quality of the work experience. Poor quality jobs for enrollees may not serve as a positive inducement to participate. Furthermore, Congress explicitly mandated that demonstration programs under the Youth Act should not provide "make-work opportunities for unemployed youths," but should provide "opportunities to learn and earn that will lead to meaningful employment opportunities after they have completed the program." The words "make-work" and "meaningful" do not have self-evident meanings, but it was the clear intent of Congress, expressed in the act and debates, to ensure that there would be good quality in youth work experience positions, both in their actual operation and in their longer-term effect on the employment success of the youths. It is therefore the purpose of this study to address the issue of worksite quality in Entitlement, both with respect to the fulfillment of Congressional purpose and to the feasibility of the Entitlement concept.

Several features of the Entitlement demonstration may affect the quality of the worksites developed for its participants. The particular

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[1] See Diaz, 1980, for a discussion of the studies underway and their relationship to the questions specified by the Congress.

conditions of the demonstration required that the 17 prime sponsors make the entitlement known to eligible youths and develop sufficient jobs in a very short time period. The President signed the Youth Act on August 5, 1977 and the Department of Labor announced the competition for receipt of Entitlement grants in September. Over 150 prime sponsors submitted pre-application proposals in October and November, and 34 finalists submitted full applications in December. The 17 Entitlement prime sponsors were announced in early January 1978, and the first programs began enrollment in March. By the end of June 1978 over 21,000 youths had been assigned to worksites (MDRC, 1979).[1] This required the largest Tier I programs to develop several thousand worksite positions, over 4,000 in Mississippi and nearly 6,000 in Baltimore, for example. Whether these scale and time pressures (which might not prevail under other, non-demonstration circumstances) resulted in the creation of large proportions of "make-work" jobs is an important issue, and the relative size differences between Tier I and Tier II programs permit an examination of possible quantity-for-quality trade-offs.

Since the Entitlement model provides a year-round guaranteed job to participants, there could be some difficulty for work sponsors in supplying an equally high quality work experience during both school-year part-time (generally 10 to 15 hours per week) and summer full-time conditions (generally 30 to 35 hours per week). Based upon historical experiences with summer youth programs in some communities, there might be a risk that worksites in the full-time period would suffer from the

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[1] All sources are fully identified in the Reference Section at the end of this report.

assignment of too many youths at one worksite. Further, during the school year, when youths worked primarily after school, it might be difficult for work sponsors to structure jobs that made a real contribution to the employers' output, and they might be reluctant to invest sufficient effort in careful supervision.

The Congressional authorization for Entitlement prime sponsors to solicit work sponsorships from private for-profit businesses was an additional feature of the Entitlement Demonstration which was expected to have an effect on the quality of the work experience.[1] An increasing proportion of participants have been assigned to private sector positions, exceeding 20 percent by late 1979, although the largest share of youths still work in public agency or private nonprofit worksites. Whether the quality of work setting and the enthusiasm of participants varies by sector of work sponsor can be uniquely addressed in this demonstration.

In the balance of this chapter alternative perspectives on worksite quality are discussed. The worksite factors that appear most relevant to assess are set forth and the data collection, sampling and reporting strategy are described. Chapter 2 assesses worksites in the demonstration with respect to these factors.

In the third chapter the analysis is carried further. A review of other research on work quality and the findings of field assessors concerning Entitlement worksites reveal that quality in work experience

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[1] Entitlement funds reimbursed participants' wages at the federal minimum in over 99 percent of all Entitlement job hours.

projects is a complex phenomenon. Straightforward assessments of worksites dealing with individual worksite characteristics, as described in Chapter 2, tend to assume an agreement upon the necessary features in a "model" worksite. There is, however, no such clear-cut agreement among evaluators, program operators or policymakers. Therefore, in the third chapter the determinants of worksite quality are analyzed. A statistical method, called multiple regression analysis, is used to examine the degree to which different characteristics of worksites, and different combinations of these characteristics, contribute to judgments about relative worksite quality reached by three different groups of observers: participating youths at worksites, their work sponsors and supervisors, and independent field assessors. The fourth chapter presents conclusions about the quality of the work experience in the demonstration.

Alternative Perspectives on Worksite Quality

Discussions of work quality tend to gravitate to one or the other of the words which Congress directed toward work experience in the youth demonstrations: "make-work" and "meaningful." The emphasis in a work quality assessment therefore depends in part upon the operational meaning given to such words, and upon the purpose of the work experience which is being assessed.

The word "make-work" appears to have entered the public policy lexicon during the New Deal period, when public job creation programs put several million unemployed people to work. In some instances, the pejorative was applied to individuals who spent long hours "leaning on shovels." This appears to connote pay for little or no actual labor -- a situation of income maintenance or "non-work." The underlying concern of

critics, reflected most strongly in this interpretation of "make-work," is that there should be some actual output if the wages are to be more than an income transfer payment (and a relatively expensive one, with costs of administration, supervision, tools and materials).

"Make-work" can also mean very low productivity, such as workers taking a day to complete a short task, or five individuals assigned to do the work that one productive person could handle alone. A third apparent meaning of "make-work" is the production of goods or services for which no one in the open market would pay anything. The classic extreme example which economists pose as illustration, is "digging a hole and filling it up again."

This study addresses each of these connotations to determine the extent to which there was "make-work" at Entitlement worksites. Precise operational measurement of these alternatives -- non-work, not enough work, and valueless work -- can be both exceedingly difficult and expensive. As discussed in Chapter 2, the observations and judgments of participants, work sponsors, and independent assessors are relied upon to determine whether there is no work or not enough work to keep participants busy. With respect to the value of the output of participant labor, the judgment of work sponsors is used to determine whether the work is of value to the agency, advances the agency's mission, or enhances the agency's overall output. There is an alternative approach to valuing output, which involves determination of the production cost or market value of the output itself. (See Mathematica Policy Research, 1979; Corporation for Public/Private Ventures, 1979.) That economic approach is not applied in this study, primarily because it is very time-consuming and would have required foregoing assessment of a broader

range of factors that may contribute to the "meaningfulness" of a work experience. The assessment of the value of the work to the sponsoring agency in this study serves as partial proxy, albeit a qualitative one, to estimating the market value of that work.

At issue in considerations of make-work in subsidized projects are questions about the incentives of work sponsors and participants. Not having to include participant wage costs in their revenue and expense calculations, do sponsors have little interest in ensuring that participants will do productive work? Alternatively, are participants or sponsors likely to abide idleness and relatively useless activity on a year-round basis? The interests of participants and work sponsors are most probably mixed, and this study may shed some light on how these incentives are balanced in an entitlement setting.

To specify what "meaningful" is requires asking the additional questions: meaningful to whom, with respect to what? Congress in the Youth Act stated that work experience in the youth demonstration projects should contribute to meaningful post-program employment opportunities for participants. This can be interpreted as more stable, higher-paying, or higher-skilled work than individuals would find if they had not participated in the work experience. A separate component of Entitlement research addresses these impacts by analyzing post-program employment and the net contribution of the schooling-work experience combination to that employment. (It will not, however, be capable of distinguishing the effects of different kinds of work experience.)

Another interpretation addressed in this report concerns the <u>expectation</u> of participants that the present work experience may make a contribution to their future employment. In addition, the literature on

work quality has been reviewed to identify characteristics of work experience projects that may contribute to such employment effects. Emphasis was placed upon assessing the extent to which the structure and process at the work setting may enhance the development of basic working skills; for instance, what primary working skills do youths, particularly economically disadvantaged youths, often lack and what kind of work setting provides the most conducive opportunity for developing them? Several studies have sought to measure the requisite characteristics of a work setting which meet this objective. (See U.S. Department of Labor, 1970, 1978, 1979; U.S. General Accounting Office, 1979; Walther, 1976.) In the section that follows some of the principal worksite conditions and characteristics are discussed which the evaluation literature has identified as requisite to a good quality work experience.

Characteristics of Good Quality Worksites

Some General Considerations

There is some agreement among employment program operators and evaluators that individuals with limited prior working experience, particularly youths with economic and educational disadvantages, have often not acquired general working skills, and that they can benefit from the experience of learning how to work, separate from and antecedent to acquiring skills that are specific to a particular occupation. One analyst speaks of the importance of their gaining workplace "coping skills," which means the ability to meet the general expectations of the workplace, including punctuality, productivity, working with others, working within authority structures, and taking responsibility for completing tasks (Walther, 1976).

There is little consensus among analysts as to the relative importance of particular worksite characteristics, but there is general agreement that some factors appear to facilitate the development of workplace-coping skills. They believe a work setting should exemplify or simulate the principal characteristics of a regular workplace, but that work sponsors should recognize as well that participants learn from both mistakes and successes. In addition, although the "real" world of work hardly satisfies all workers at all times, analysts hold that a participant is more likely to integrate work-coping skills if there are positive aspects to the work experience, if there is present enjoyment and the perception of future benefit from developing those skills (Walther, 1976; Goodman, Salipante, and Paransky, 1973).

A work experience program, then, is more likely to encourage the development of general work-coping skills if it is exemplary of regular work settings, if its structure facilitates the learning of those skills, and if the work offers some positive inducement to participation beyond the wages which participants receive for their work. The evaluation literature on work programs for disadvantaged populations was consulted, as well as individuals with an extensive background in operating work experience programs or evaluating them, in order to identify specific worksite characteristics which contribute to those objectives. In some studies, combinations of characteristics correlated to some extent with post-program employment, but none of the studies permitted the identification of which particular characteristics were most important.

Specific Characteristics of Worksites

1. Youths Are Kept Busy. Several conditions of worksites can be classified as exemplifying the conditions and expectations associated

with the regular workplace. A principal one is that the work experience be structured so that the youths are busy and not idle most of the time (Walther, 1976). Previous youth work experience programs have been criticized for, in effect, serving primarily as income transfer programs, since in many instances little productive work was required of participants. Youths with not enough work to keep busy are not likely to develop realistic expectations about the demands of unsubsidized work.

2. Work Standards. The communication of clear standards of attendance and performance to participants is another characteristic which can exemplify regular work situations (U.S. Department of Labor, 1970; Walther, 1976). In Entitlement, prime sponsors were required to inform prospective work sponsors of the necessity of worksite standards, and to communicate to participants that adherence to standards was a condition of their continuing participation in the program.

3. Integration with Regular Workplace. Analysts have found that the work situation seems more realistic when participants can generally feel a part of the ongoing, regular work of an agency or firm, and when they can work alongside or in close proximity to the regular workforce. Not only can this give the participants a stronger sense of real work, but they may be more likely to feel part of the agency and a contributor to its mission (U.S. Department of Labor, 1970; Quinn, et al., 1975).

4. Clarity of Job Assignments. An additional condition, not always present in regular work settings, is a clear job assignment. When the tasks to be completed and the productivity expected are clearly defined, it is easier for participants to know when they are working well, when they are meeting the expectations of their supervisors, and when they have accomplished their tasks (U.S. Department of Labor, 1970; Quinn, et

al, 1975). Vague or constantly shifting job assignments may generate confusion and frustration, and even though they are characteristic of some regular work assignments, they may not be conducive to learning good general work habits.

5. Supervision. Another frequently cited factor is close supervision, both in terms of low ratios of participants to supervisors, and in the accessibility of supervisors and their frequent interaction with participants (Walther, 1976; Quinn, et al, 1975). A supervisor who is available to answer task-related questions, to provide continuing on-the-job training, to communicate performance expectations, and to provide positive reinforcement for exemplary work, can be the bridge between expectations at the workplace and their acceptance by youths.

6. Job Content. The actual content of the work to which participants are assigned, and the skill levels required to perform the work well, can also be important (Quinn, et al, 1975). Boring and simple tasks that take little or no training are not only less interesting to do, but also less likely to be perceived as having some future value to the participants in terms of increasing employability. While there are inherent limits to the skill requirements which can be placed on youths who have not yet completed high school and who may have need of remedial education as well, tasks which meet the capabilities of participants can not only contribute to a sense of greater competence, but also can just be more interesting for participants to carry out.

7. Increasing Responsibilities over Time. Also identified as facilitating the development of good work habits and positive attitudes toward working is the structuring of work so that participants can gain

increased responsibility or task variety as they acclimate themselves to the work setting. Simple and repetitious tasks which do not change or increase over time, while reflective of many jobs in the unsubsidized economy, are less likely to provide positive work habits and attitudes (Goodman, Salipante, and Paransky, 1973; and Quinn, et al., 1975).

8. Expectation of Future Employment. While "meaningful" work can have several definitions, some analysts have indicated that work experience participants are more likely to develop work-coping skills if they perceive some value or benefit to themselves in learning to work well. Participants who perceive that the work experience might lead to being hired as unsubsidized employees by the sponsor, or in the same industry, were more likely to stay with the work experience and try to perform well.

9. Work Perceived as Valuable to Sponsor. In addition, participants have been found more likely to have positive attitudes toward work if they believe that it makes a contribution to the sponsoring agency or if it adds to the objectives of the agency. Hence, "make-work," which agency personnel do not regard as directly supporting the agency's mission, can be not only an inefficient use of public funds, but can also lack purpose and real value for both participants and their sponsors.

Work Experience as a Dynamic Process

Although the literature review and discussions with analysts led to some common opinions and broad observations about work and the characteristics which constitute good quality in youth work experience settings, there was not as much agreement on any particular combination of these characteristics, or on the relative importance of different characteris-

tics. As a process of learning and socialization, the acquisition of workplace-coping skills is a complex developmental phenomenon. Individuals may respond strongly to different situations and conditions. A respected supervisor who can serve as a positive role model may be important to some youths, while acquiring a credible job history, or doing interesting work may be more important to others.

A simple calculus of optimum worksite characteristics, or an *a priori* specification of equally indispensable characteristics, would risk missing the complexity of the phenomenon. It might be the case that several combinations of desirable conditions could produce good worksites, or that the relative intensity of different characteristics might vary and still constitute acceptable work experience. As a result, data collection and analysis strategies were developed which would permit the exploration of combinations and interactions among desirable worksite characteristics, and which would also allow experienced field assessors to comment on the nuances and varieties of characteristics which might accompany good, or poor, worksites.

Data Collection and Reporting[1]

In order to assess worksites on the factors most likely to be salient to the quality of work experience, a field instrument was designed and organized into five general categories. Each category, in turn, encompassed a number of both general and specific factors. The instrument served as a guide to the issues which were addressed by assessors in field visits to worksites, and also indicated the outline

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[1] The methodological appendix contains a more detailed discussion of procedures and decisions reached on data collection and analysis methods.

for a written narrative assessment of the worksite. Finally, the field assessor was asked to provide a single overall rating of the worksite's quality. The factors within each of the five major categories and the field assessor's rating scale are summarized in Table 1-2.

To ensure that the assessed worksites were representative of all worksites in the demonstration, the 520 worksites visited were drawn by random sample. Since not all worksites were active at the beginning of the demonstration in 1978, four successive samples were drawn between September 1978 and September 1979 to give new worksites an equal chance for selection. Sampling was weighted to ensure that there were sufficiently large sub-samples of private sector worksites, Tier II worksites and full-time worksites (of those active in the summer of 1979) so that differences among sectors, tiers, and weekly work-hours could be detected with statistical confidence. The distribution of the sample is displayed in Table 1-3.

An early version of the assessment instrument was field-tested in the summer of 1978 and modified in September 1978. Assessors were trained by MDRC research staff, with particular emphasis on careful observation and the importance of eliciting the points of view of participants and supervisors at the worksites. To improve the reliability of reporting, research staff conducted joint worksite visits with assessors during the early months of field visits.

A total of 19 individuals conducted field data collection. The greatest share of assessments at the Tier I programs was conducted by MDRC field associates, who, on a regular basis, are outstationed full-time at each of the seven Tier I communities. These staff members, aside

Table 1-2

ORGANIZATION OF THE QUALITY OF WORK FIELD INSTRUMENT
BY MAJOR WORK QUALITY FACTORS AND SUB-FACTORS
ASSESSED BY FIELD ASSOCIATES

1. Descriptive Information

   Program site; tier; full-time or part-time; sector of sponsor; number of youth assigned, normal participant-to-supervisor ratio; number of separate jobs assessed.

2. Work Content

   Task description; amount of training required; what tools used; physical or mental skills required; task variety; whether task responsibilities increase over time.

3. Worksite Organization

   Orientation of work sponsors to supervision requirements; timecard procedures; attendance and performance standards; role of program counselors; grievance procedures; orientation of youth to attendance and performance standards, timecard procedures; supervisor judgment on whether appropriate number of youth assigned; supervisor, youth, assessor judgments whether youth busy most of the time; are youth judged by same general standards as regular employees; do youth interact frequently with regular staff; do youth understand duties; are youth expected to complete tasks within specified period of time.

4. Supervision

   Supervisor tenure with agency; supervisor experience performing youth's assigned tasks; supervisor experience with training; supervisor experience with other manpower programs; supervisor experience counseling youth; proximity of supervisor to youth; frequency of interactions with youth; content of interactions with youth; youth perceptions of supervisor helpfulness and accessibility; assessor judgment about quality of youth-supervisor interaction.

5. Youth Perception of Value of Assignment

   Did youth get type of job requested; are youth satisfied with assignment; do youth believe assignment is useful in terms of learning, obtaining work history, getting future job; do youth feel work is of value to agency, to community.

6. Value of Work to Sponsoring Agency

   Does sponsor believe participants' work is consistent with agency mission; that youth are producing valuable output; that agency effectiveness increased by participants' work.

7. Summary Comments and Assessor's Rating of Worksite

   Ratings: inadequate, adequate, good, outstanding.

TABLE 1-3

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF WORKSITE SAMPLE BY WORKSITE CHARACTERISTICS

Worksite Characteristic	No. of Worksites	Percent of Worksites
1. Program Tier		
Tier I	407	78.3
Tier II	113	21.7
Total	520	100.0
2. Weekly Hours		
Full-Time	161	31.0
Part-Time	359	69.0
Total	520	100.0
3. Sector of Work Sponsor		
Public[a]	180	34.6
Non-Profit[b]	151	29.0
For-Profit	189	36.3
Total	520	100.0
4. Number of Youths Assigned		
1	231	44.4
2	98	18.8
3	47	9.0
4	35	6.7
5	28	5.4
6 - 10	32	6.2
11 - 25	37	7.1
26 or More	12	2.3
Total	520	100.0

SOURCE: Tabulation of data extracted from narrative worksite assessments written by MDRC staff and consultants.

NOTES: The assessments were conducted at a randomly-selected number of worksites active during the period from September 1978 through November 1979. Percentage distributions may not add exactly to 100.0 because of rounding.

[a]Public worksites include both public schools and other government agencies.

[b]Non-profit worksites include private educational institutions as well as non-profit organizations.

from their worksite assessments, also documented all aspects of program operation for the MDRC research staff analyzing program implementation, and have ongoing reporting responsibility to the MDRC field operations department. Nearly all had extensive prior experience in operating or monitoring manpower and human services programs.

Assessment of worksites in Tier II communities, as well as assessments at some Tier I programs where there were temporary field staff vacancies, were conducted by MDRC staff for Tier II sites and by consultants. These consultants also had had extensive experience with research or management of manpower programs.

Most worksite assessment field visits took two hours, during which assessors observed the youths working and spoke with both youths and supervisors on the issues in the field instrument. In order to reduce the possibility that a work sponsor might try to improve the operation of a worksite if given prior notice of the assessor's visit, assessors were instructed not to give notice of the exact time of their visit. An effort to visit all worksites entirely unannounced proved somewhat infeasible, particularly during the school year when worksites operated only a few hours after school. The assessors with other field monitoring responsibilities also had full schedules and wasted visits were costly, particularly when extensive travel time was required. Therefore, assessors called ahead to find out when, during the following week to ten days, it would be <u>inconvenient</u> for a field visit. Comparing unannounced visits with those made with relatively unspecified prior notice, assessors found no evidence that work sponsors "cleaned up" their worksites, nor did youths at the worksites report that this had occurred.

The narrative reports were the heart of the assessments. Since part of the purpose of the study was to explore the interrelationships and possible trade-offs among worksite characteristics, as well as the nuances of youth and supervisor perceptions, use of a simple check-list did not seem appropriate.

In order to obtain a statistical analysis of worksite characteristics, including the judgments and perceptions of assessors, youths, and supervisors, the content of each narrative report was systematically analyzed and transformed into quantitative data amenable to statistical analysis. A coding procedure was developed in which trained persons reading the reports would carefully and consistently record the extent to which each worksite manifested a variety of attributes, including those described above. Each report was read according to a detailed set of instructions by four trained coders, all of whom were graduate students in the social sciences. In order to maximize the reliability of the coding and to guard against any tendency to infer the presence of an attribute from a limited amount of information, coders were instructed to be conservative, and to code a substantive worksite characteristic as present only where there was a clear and fairly explicit statement about it in the assessor's report. Coders were discouraged from making inferences, and were told to code a variable "not specified" where there was any doubt about its presence at the worksite. (The consequences of this conservatism will be discussed in Chapter 2.) When coders disagreed about how a variable should be coded at a site, the response on which at least two agreed was considered to be the "correct" one. Where there was a "tie vote," a fifth coder decided between them. The data were

then statistically analyzed, and the results are presented in the following chapters.

CHAPTER TWO

CHARACTERISTICS OF WORKSITE QUALITY

The analysis of Entitlement worksites has two parts. In this chapter several critical features of the worksites are described and an attempt is made to establish standards or criteria by which the adequacy of the worksites may be assessed. In Chapter 3 the determinants of worksite quality -- what makes some worksites more satisfactory than others -- are analyzed. By deciding what causes some worksites to be better than others from the vantage points of three key observers, the analysis may provide guidance for improving the quality of youth program worksites in the future.

Measures of Quality at Entitlement Worksites

The several parties involved in Entitlement share an interest at least to some degree, in their worksites being of high quality. Congress had expressed its intent that participants perform useful work, learn skills, and become productive members of the labor force. Work sponsors, even with the full subsidy, presumably prefer that youths do work which will be valuable to their agencies and help achieve their goals. And the youths themselves have at least some interest in using their time and effort fruitfully, to do work that is valuable to themselves, while at the same time acquiring the habits and skills which may enable them to get better, more satisfying, and higher paying jobs than they would otherwise obtain.

There is, however, no objective and universally recognized method identifying which worksites best meet the needs of those concerned with the program. Measuring the quality of work in an ordinary factory or office is itself a difficult task, even where there is no special concern

with training youths. And assessing quality is especially problematic in situations where worker outputs are difficult to measure, as in the white-collar and service jobs which comprise an increasing proportion of jobs in the economy and a share of the worksites in Entitlement.

In programs like Entitlement, where there is no established way to measure worksite quality and where there are several interested parties, the most sensible way to proceed is by developing a number of different measures of worksite quality, each gauging what seems to be an important aspect of worksite activity, and then to see what overall picture of the worksite emerges by considering all the measures together. This is the standard procedure in economics and the other social sciences, where everyone agrees that complex situations or processes are best described by several measures, each of which describes a somewhat different aspect. The best overall description is provided by the pattern (if any) which the several measures reveal.

In order to describe and assess the quality of Entitlement worksites, eight major factors which are likely to be especially important to some or all of those concerned about the program were selected from literature review and the field assessment instrument:

1. content of the youths' jobs;
2. extent to which youths are kept busy;
3. supervisor-youth relationship;
4. youths' awareness of standards and duties;
5. youths' perceptions of the utility of their jobs;
6. youths' overall satisfaction with their jobs;
7. value of the youths' work to the sponsoring agency;

8. assessor's overall rating of the worksite's quality.

Because of the interest in particular features of the Entitlement demonstration, the differences in worksite quality are discussed separately for the large-scale (Tier I) and small-scale (Tier II) programs, part-time and full-time worksites, and public, nonprofit, and private for-profit worksites, as well as for all worksites together. Examples are drawn from the assessors' narrative reports to illustrate the typical situations which may account for a particular worksite characteristic, and to indicate the interdependencies and complexities which may underlie some of those characteristics.

The Analysis Strategy

In reading the findings below, the reader should be aware of two choices that were made in the development of the analysis strategy and in the translation of narrative reports to statistically analyzable variables, since these choices have an effect upon some of the quality measures. First, since the characteristics of work settings that may facilitate development of good work habits were to be examined, worksites were chosen as the unit of analysis and the sample drawn accordingly. However, not all worksites have the same numbers of youths assigned, as Table 1-3 shows. Although over 80 percent of the worksites in the sample (and in the demonstration overall) have fewer than five assigned youths, there are a small number of work sponsors with as many as 25 or more youths (albeit the youths are usually assigned to dozens of differing work stations at those work sponsors). Since 520 worksites were randomly sampled, however, there is reasonable confidence that the findings accurately reflect the characteristics of the range of worksites in the

demonstration. It cannot be asserted with the same confidence that these characteristics reflect the experience of all participants in the demonstration, including those assigned to small and large worksites.

Although it is not entirely consistent with the sampling method, some of the characteristics below were analyzed by weighting the sample according to the number of youths whom the assessor spoke with and observed. (The sample was not extrapolated by weighting according to the number of youths assigned to the worksite, since this would go beyond what assessors observed at some worksites, but not at others.) Weighting the sample by number of youths observed tends, on some variables, to reduce slightly the degree to which positive qualities are present at worksites. Further, it tends to accentuate the degree of difference between worksites in different sectors, usually in the direction of enhancing the positive qualities at private sector worksites. There are hardly any large private sector worksites (with more than five youths assigned), and the analysis, which controls the number of youths observed, indicates that large worksites are more likely to be of poor quality. Where the effect of weighting the sample by number of youths observed produces quality distributions that are different to a pronounced degree from the findings on the sample of worksites, those differences are noted in the relevant tables.

Another choice taken in this analysis strategy tends to have an effect in the opposite direction. As indicated in Chapter 1, field assessors differed in the extent to which their narrative reports commented comprehensively upon all characteristics at worksites. Certain assessors were less diligent than others in explicitly reporting as

present some characteristics which were commonly found at worksites. A conservative choice was made to code as "not specified" a characteristic which was not explicitly mentioned. In analyzing the data, these "not specified" responses were counted as an absent quality when there were only two choices, or as the middle value of a variable when there were three choices.

Some examples will confirm that these coding and analysis choices tend to understate positive qualities. According to the rules alone, the assessors judged that youths were busy most of the time at 67.7 percent of the worksites. If only worksites are counted for which there was information reported, the figure rises to 78.1 percent. On the same basis, the proportion of worksites at which the youths are reported to understand their duties would increase from 93.1 percent to over 99 percent. Similarly, the proportion of worksites where the work sponsor found the work to provide valuable output consistent with the sponsor's mission would increase from 86 percent to 94 percent. With these two choices in mind, which tend to have opposing effects on the quality measures, the findings on worksite quality are presented below.

A sensible first step in considering the work experience in Entitlement is to describe the jobs themselves. Table 2-1 provides a distribution of the general job categories at the worksites in the sample, arranged hierarchically from those lowest in status to those that are highest (See Blau and Duncan, 1967). While these jobs were generally at the fairly low-skilled, entry-level range of the major categories, there were some differences in task variety and complexity. Less than 3 percent were entirely unskilled, generally factory helpers and the like.

TABLE 2-1

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF WORKSITE SAMPLE
BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY OF JOB

Occupational Category[a]	Percent of Worksites
Professional, Technical	9.1
Clerical, Sales	47.4
Skilled, Semi-Skilled	10.8
Service	29.9
Unskilled	2.9
Total	100.0
Number of Worksites	520

SOURCE: Tabulation of data extracted from narrative worksite assessments written by MDRC staff and consultants.

NOTES: The assessments were conducted at a randomly-selected number of worksites active during the period from September 1978 through November 1979. Worksites providing more than 1 type of job for Entitlement youths were classified according to the occupational category most typical of the work performed. Percentage distribution may not add exactly to 100.0 because of rounding.

[a]Occupational categories are constructed from detailed descriptions in the quality of work coding questionnaire, according to criteria from Peter Blau and O.D. Duncan, The American Occupational Structure (New York: Wiley, 1967).

Nearly 30 percent of all jobs were in service occupations, with the two most common job titles being janitorial and day-care workers. The relatively small proportion of skilled or semi-skilled jobs typically involved more skills than usual and often had potential for a more interesting job as a youth developed. These could be apprentice-level positions in trades such as printing and carpentry. Clerical and sales positions, lower-level white-collar jobs, could span a fairly wide range. In retail sales, for example, youths at different worksites might be responsible for one or several tasks that included helping customers, sorting bills or invoices, typing labels or form letters, checking or filing records, pricing stock, taking inventory, working the cash register, and answering the telephone. Clerical positions could vary from filing to serving as a secretary in a law firm. While most of the "professional, technical" positions were fairly low skilled, such as community or recreation workers, there were small proportions of jobs at nearly every project that included titles such as air traffic controller aide, drafting trainee, laboratory technician trainee, accountant's assistant, and computer terminal operator.

The differences in skills and tasks, both among and within these general job categories, do not, therefore, fully account for the relative job content at the sampled worksites. Three additional measures of job content were therefore used as shown in Table 2-2, which, combined with occupational categories, better distinguish job content. Almost half the jobs seemed to require over a week of training, but almost half required none. At almost 40 percent of the worksites, youths were, in time, given increased responsibilities, and at nearly three-fourths of the worksites, the jobs required mental skills, including arithmetic calculation, reading

TABLE 2-2

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF WORKSITE SAMPLE
BY JOB CONTENT CHARACTERISTICS

Job Content Characteristic	Percent of Worksites
Amount of Training	
One Week or More	44.6
3 - 5 Days	4.2
1 - 2 Days	4.7
Less Than 1 Day	4.2
None	42.3
Total	100.0
Mental Skills Required	
Yes	73.1
No	26.7
Total	100.0
Youth Given Increased Tasks or Responsibilities Over Time	
Yes	37.7
No	62.3
Total	100.0
Number of Worksites	520

SOURCE and NOTES: Refer to Table 1-3.

STATISTICAL NOTES: The mean value of the standardized index of job content for all worksites was 2.22. (Explanation can be found on pages of the text.) The difference between the mean values for Tier I (2.21) and Tier II (2.56) worksites was significant at .0001 by F-test. The differences between the mean values for Public, Non-For-Profit, and For-Profit worksites were significant at .55 by F-test. The difference between the mean values for worksites with full-time and part-time hours was significant at .61 by F-test.

ability, and organizational ability. On another measure, which is not included among the four variables in Tables 2-1 and 2-2, only about 10 percent of the jobs were described as "monotonous, routine, with little or no task variety."

Because each of the characterisitics of the jobs described in the tables could be seen as reflecting the place of each job on a job quality or content scale running from "low" to "high," the most reasonable overall index of job content would be one that averaged where the worksite fit on each of the characteristics. Consequently a standardized "index of job content" was created from the four measures. (Applying Chronbach's alpha, the most widely used reliability measure, these four factors had a standardized reliability of .66, which is an acceptably high figure. See Chronbach, 1951.) Each measure was standardized and the average of the four was taken as the measure of job content to permit a comparison of the quality of different types of worksites.[1]

From a comparison of worksites in each of the three sectors -- public, nonprofit, and for-profit -- the jobs appeared to have essentially identical content levels in all sectors, with no statisically significant differences, as Table 2-2 indicates. (Differences are reported as statistically significant if they meet or exceed the .05 level; that is, where there is a 95 percent or better chance that the measured differ-

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[1] In standardization, the scores of responses to different questions are made comparable by gauging them as differences from the average score, divided by the standard deviation. This is a standard procedure which enables one to say whether a worksite (or any other object of interest) is relatively high, low, average, etc., compared to others on a wide range of questions, even when the questions are different or when answers to a particular question are given by different people. See Chronbach, 1951; Heise and Bohrnsteldt, 1971; and Burstein, 1972.

ences are "real," and not simply the result of basing the study on the sample drawn rather than an assessment of all of the worksites.) There are similarly no significant differences in level of job content between full-time and part-time worksites. Tier II worksites, however, did have higher job content than those in Tier I, and these differences between tiers were statistically significant. This would appear to reflect the greater amount of care and time per job which Tier II staff were able to spend developing jobs for participants. At some of these smaller programs, program staff sought to develop jobs that were tailor-made to the interests of youths, some of which were at skill levels that paid participants more than the minimum wage.

Are Youths Kept Busy?

Field assessors paid particular attention to the question of whether participants were busy most of the time, since idle time could transform an otherwise worthwhile work experience into a negative example of what the regular job market required. The assessors observed that, as with many regular jobs, the structure and flow of work did not always keep participants constantly busy. In a retail store, for example, there were peak and slack periods of customer traffic. Youths who were surveying and drafting aides in a municipal engineering department experienced periods of hectic activity and periods of relative "down-time" along with the regular staff. In these kinds of positions, some diligent supervisors would arrange alternative work which could be assigned when the regular work load declined. At other worksites, youths would take the initiative to seek out work themselves in slack periods, although this usually indicated a poorly organized and supervised work setting.

There were other jobs where there was no end to the work to be done. A young women was assigned to the "Career Room" at a local high school, which was linked to the state employment security system and its job bank. She served as a vocational counselor, posted job announcements, and managed the office. There was little or no slack time. And there were, of couse, instances of worksites so poorly organized that participants had little to do most of the time. One participant was the fourth employee at a small used clothing and appliance shop. She volunteered to the assessor that the shop could do without her, and that it would make no difference if she did not show up. Thirty youths assigned to a clean-up project for a neighborhood nonprofit organization were poorly supervised, clearly bored, and usually idle.

Since keeping youths busy was such an important issue, field assessors were told to gauge the degree of "busyness" in three different ways -- by asking the work supervisor, asking the youths themselves (usually out of hearing of the supervisor), and by making their own determination from observing activity at the worksite. Table 2-3 thus indicates that the supervisors and youths both described the youths as busy most of the time at over four-fifths of the worksites. The assessors, who proved more critical in their judgments, described the youths as busy at least most of the time in over two-thirds of the worksites. At only 5 percent of the worksites did youths and supervisors characterize the youths as plainly not busy, while the assessor described some 13 percent of the worksites that way. It should also be noted that, in response to another question, less than 3 percent of the supervisors stated that too many youths had been assigned to their worksite.

TABLE 2-3

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF WORKSITE SAMPLE
BY OBSERVER AND DEGREE TO WHICH
YOUTHS ARE KEPT BUSY

Degree to Which Youth are Kept Busy at the Worksite	Percentage Distribution as Reported by:		
	Work Sponsor	Youth	Site Assessor
Most or All of the Time	87.3	80.8	67.7
Some of the Time	7.5	14.4	19.0
Rarely or Never	5.2	4.8	13.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of Worksites	520	520	520

SOURCE and NOTES: Refer to Table 2-1.

STATISTICAL NOTES: 1. The differences between the mean values of the standardized index of "busyness" (as explained on page of the text) for the sectors, tiers, and weekly hours worked were significant at .32, .20, and .98 respectively by F-test.

2. Weighting the sample by the number of youths observed by the worksite assessor changes the proportion of "most or all of the time" responses by work sponsors, youth and site assessors to 83.6%, 79.8% and 60.9% respectively.

3. Removing the not-specified cases on this variable increases the proportion of "most or all of the time" responses to 90.6%, 89.4%, and 78.1% respectively.

To produce a single measure of whether the youths at each worksite were kept busy, the three measures were combined into a single, standardized "index of busyness" (with Chronbach's alpha .69). Because the same question was asked of the three different parties, the most reliable measure of busyness would be one that essentially averaged the three responses, which was done.

The note to Table 2-3 shows that the differences between sectors were minimal and not statistically significant (by F-Test). Youths were equally likely to be busy at private, nonprofit, and public sector worksites. There were also no statistically significant differences between full-time and part-time worksites or Tier I and Tier II worksites. The connotations of make-work that imply "no work" or "not enough work" to keep participants busy do not, therefore, generally apply to worksites in Entitlement. In the three categories of observation, no more than from 5 percent to 13 percent of the worksites would fall in that classification.

Supervisor-Youth Relationship

There is common agreement that the relationship between supervisor and participant may be especially important to the process of learning good work habits. The supervisor can reinforce expectations of attendance and performance, assist in teaching tasks, provide support, communicate unwritten rules about working and cooperation with others, and provide individualized attention to meet the needs of particular participants. Of course, if there is simply not enough work to go around, a supervisor may be hard-pressed to communicate credibly the need for punctuality and good attendance, or the value of being productive. Some

of the psychological aspects of the supervisor-participant relationship, however, such as the part which a supervisor can play as a role model, could not be readily addressed in this study, given the relatively limited time that assessors could spend observing the work and speaking with youths. Instead, the field instrument directed assessors to discern the accessibility of the supervisor, on what kinds of matters supervisors assisted youths, how helpful youths perceived their supervisors to be, and generally to rate the quality of the interaction between supervisors and participants.

One measure of accessibility is the ratio of participants to supervisor at a worksite, since this could set an upper limit to how available the supervisor can be and how much individual attention the supervisor can give to participants. Table 2-4 shows the distribution of participant-supervisor ratios at the sampled worksites and indicates that the relative intensity of supervision was quite high in most instances. In three-fifths of the cases, the ratio was one-to-one, and it was one- or two-to-one at four-fifths of the worksites. In less than 10 percent of the worksites did the ratio exceed four.

There were some differences among worksites in different sectors, with supervisors in the private sector less likely to oversee five or more youths and more likely to have only one youth to supervise. This indicates somewhat greater potential for close supervision in private businesses. There were, however, no statistically significant differences between worksites in Tier I and Tier II programs, or between summer and school-year worksites.

To understand some of the other, less concrete, aspects of super-

TABLE 2-4

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF WORKSITE SAMPLE
BY NUMBER OF YOUTH PER SUPERVISOR AND SECTOR OF WORKSITE SPONSOR

Number of Youth Per Supervisor	Percentage Distribution by Sector of Worksite Sponsor			
	All Sectors	Public[a]	Non-Profit[b]	For-Profit
One	60.8	55.6	60.3	66.1
Two	19.2	21.7	17.2	18.5
Three	6.7	8.9	5.3	5.8
Four	3.8	3.3	2.6	5.3
Five or More	9.4	10.5	14.5	4.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of Worksites	520	180	151	189

SOURCE: Tabulation of data extracted from narrative worksite assessments written by MDRC staff and consultants.

NOTES: The assessments were conducted at a randomly-selected number of worksites active during the period from September 1978 through November 1979.

Percentage distributions may not add exactly to 100.0 because of rounding.

[a]Public worksites include both public schools and other government agencies.

[b]Non-profit worksites include private educational institutions as well as non-profit organizations.

STATISTICAL NOTES: Differences between the mean number-of-youth-per-supervisor values for the sectors are significant at .03, by Chi-square test. Between the two tiers the difference is significant at .32, by Chi-square test. Between full-time and part-time worksites, the difference is significant at .26, by Chi-square test.

visor accessibility and interaction with participants, assessors were instructed to cover a range of issues, which are listed in Table 2-5. These questions took into account possible different emphases in supervisory style, such as more business-like task orientation or more informal and supportive communication; the supervisor's experience in performing or training in the tasks that youths did, the youths' perceptions of the supervisor's helpfulness; and the assessor's judgment about the quality of the interaction between youths and supervisors. A "supervisor-youth relationship index" was designed from the 13 items (which has a Chronbach's alpha of .79).

In Table 2-5 the distribution of the worksites is shown by the number of separate factors which were mentioned by assessors. Over two-thirds of the worksites had seven or more positive qualities, while over one-quarter had 10 or more of the 13. Less than one-tenth had three or fewer of these positive attributes. The data thus indicate that there is close interaction between youths and supervisors at the great majority of the worksites. The differences among sectors tend to be what might be expected because of the somewhat lower supervisor ratios at private sector worksites, but these differences are not statistically significant. And while there are no significant differences between the full-time and part-time worksites, Tier II worksites are much more likely to involve close supervisor-youth interaction than worksites in Tier I.

Youth's Awareness of Standards and Duties

Developing good work habits includes learning and abiding by an employer's expectations concerning attendance and performance. In addition, working productively is likely to be easier when the tasks and

TABLE 2-5

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF WORKSITE SAMPLE
BY NUMBER OF SUPERVISOR-YOUTH INTERACTION CHARACTERISTICS

Number of Supervisor-Youth Interaction Characteristics Reported[a]	All Worksites	Tier I Worksites	Tier II Worksites
10 - 13	27.9%	25.3%	37.1%
7 - 9	39.2	37.1	47.0
4 - 6	23.1	26.0	12.4
0 - 3	9.8	11.5	3.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of Worksites	520	407	113

SOURCE: Tabulation of data extracted from narrative worksite assessments written by MDRC staff and consultants.

NOTES: The assessments were conducted at a randomly-selected number of worksites active during the period from September 1978 through November 1979.

Percentage distributions may not add exactly to 100.0 because of rounding.

[a]The 13 supervisor-youth interaction characteristics used are:

1. Supervisor had experience doing tasks required of youth.
2. Supervisor had experience teaching tasks required of youth.
3. Supervisor staff works in close proximity to youth.
4. Supervisor speaks frequently with youth (general statement).
5. Supervisor speaks with youth about tasks (general statement).
6. Supervisor speaks with youth informally (general statement).
7. Supervisor states he speaks with youth about tasks.
8. Supervisor states he speaks with youth informally.
9. Youth state they speak with supervisor about tasks.
10. Youth state they speak with supervisor informally.
11. Staff usually available to answer youth's questions.
12. Youth feel supervisor helps them do better job.
13. Worksite assessor judges quality of youth-supervisor interaction to be above average.

STATISTICAL NOTES: The difference between the mean number of characteristics for the tiers is significant at .0001, by Chi-square test. Between the Part-time and full-time worksites, the difference is significant at .25, by Chi-square test. Between worksite sectors, the differences are significant at .66, by Chi-square test.

duties of the job are understood. Entitlement prime sponsors were expected to communicate to work sponsors the necessity of applying standards of attendance and performance, since youths lose their entitlement to a guaranteed work experience if they continually fail to meet such standards. Other research on the implementation of Entitlement, however (see Diaz, et al, 1980), has indicated that prime sponsors did not generally require their work sponsors to apply identical standards, since individual youths' circumstances could vary and since many employers regard it as their prerogative to develop their own standards.

Assessors asked youths at the worksites if they were aware of the work sponsors' standards for attendance and performance, and the assessors stated clearly and explicitly in nearly two thirds (63.7 percent) of their narrative reports that youths were aware of standards.

At more than 90 percent of the worksites, youths indicated that they understood their job assignment and what tasks and duties they were expected to perform. Thus, clarity of job assignment, at least in the minds of participants, was very high, although it could not readily be discerned whether work sponsor expectations were always clearly communicated. The fact that in one-third of the worksites there may not have been a strong enough emphasis on standards for assessors to mention them explicitly may indicate that communication could have received greater attention at some of the programs.

Youths' Perception of the Utility of Their Jobs

One of the more elusive factors that may affect the quality of a work experience is the motivation of the participant. The extent to which Entitlement participants perceived their jobs as having a "payoff"

for them, apart from the wages, could affect their receptivity to learning to work productively. It should be noted that this perception of utility could be different from the youths' general satisfaction with the assignment. Youths often told assessors that they did not find the work particularly exciting, or that some aspects of the job or working conditions were less than ideal, but they often felt there were definite benefits to the jobs which outweighed those dissatisfactions.

Different youths had different priorities; different aspects of the work could be regarded as being useful. Some youths believed there was value to the particular occupational skills they were learning. Others emphasized the chance to get used to the discipline and routines of working. Still others placed importance on knowing that their work made a real difference to the activities of their sponsoring agency, and said that they valued the agency's contribution to the community. Many youths indicated that having their present job would make it easier to get another job in the future.

Many factors appeared to affect these different perceptions. The kind of supervision a youth experienced often appeared to determine whether a relatively routine, unchallenging job was ultimately seen as worthwhile. The degree to which the work sponsor communicated to participants that their work made a real contribution to the sponsor's mission, and the extent to which the youths felt appreciated, could affect their motivation. If a supervisor worked just as hard as the participant, the youths often commented on it. For example, youths working in a grocery store saw the manager work long hours, that tasks like sorting returned bottles had to be done, and that "working for what we get" might

mean they would get a good reference for some later job.

An index of the value of the assignment to youths was composed from the responses to four questions (the index has a Chronbach's alpha of .62): whether youths felt positive about the skills they were learning, whether they thought these would help them build a job history, whether they thought the employer would give them a reference, and whether they felt the work was of value to the work sponsor. Table 2-6 shows that when all worksites were considered together, the youths responded positively to all four questions at 12 percent of the worksites, and to three at another 19 percent. Thus, it would seem fair to say that youths at about 30 percent of the worksites were certain that the work assignments were useful to them. On the other hand, youths at about 20 percent of the worksites gave no evidence of feeling that their work was of special value, and presumably those youths felt that they were acquiring little of practical value for the future. The other worksites, almost half, were in the middle, with youths indicating some positive value with respect to one or two of the aspects.

In contrast to most of the other indices of worksite characteristics, there were significant differences between sectors in the value of the assignment to the youths. Youths working in the private sector were considerably more likely to see their assignment as of value, and youths working at nonprofit agency worksites seemed least likely to perceive value in their work. It is possible to surmise that youths are likely to feel that their future employment will be in the private sector, and therefore they think there is more value to work experience with a private business.

TABLE 2-6

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF WORKSITE SAMPLE
BY TYPES OF WORKSITES AND NUMBER OF YOUTH-PERCEIVED JOB VALUES REPORTED

Types of Worksites	Percentage Distribution by Number of Characteristics Reported Relating to the Perceived Value of the Job to the Youth						Number of Worksites
	4 (All)	3	2	1	0	Total	
Sector of Worksite Sponsor:							
Public[a]	9.4	20.6	20.6	30.0	19.4	100.0	180
Non-Profit[b]	6.0	15.2	22.5	33.8	22.5	100.0	151
For-Profit	19.6	19.0	21.7	20.1	19.6	100.0	189
Program Tier:							
Tier I	10.4	15.5	19.9	31.9	22.4	100.0	407
Tier II	18.6	29.2	27.4	11.5	13.3	100.0	113
Weekly Hours Worked:							
Full-Time	14.3	19.3	18.0	21.1	27.3	100.0	161
Part-Time	11.1	18.1	23.1	30.4	17.3	100.0	359
All Worksites	21.1	18.5	21.5	27.5	20.4	100.0	520

SOURCE and NOTES: Refer to Table 2-4.

[c]The four characteristics relating to the youth's perception of the value of the job are:

1. Youth believe they will obtain future job reference.
2. Youth believe they are learning skills at job.
3. Youth believe job will help in obtaining future jobs.
4. Youth believe work is of value to employer.

STATISTICAL NOTES: Differences between the mean number of reported youth-perceived job values for the sectors are significant at .0004, by Chi-square test. Between the two tiers the difference is significant at .001, by Chi-square test. Between full-time worksites, the difference is significant at .02, by Chi-square test.

Youths at worksites in Tier II communities were also more likely to see value in their assignments than youths working in Tier I, which may reflect the greater attention Tier II program staffs could pay to careful job development. There were also differences between full-time and part-time worksites, where youths working in summer full-time worksites were more likely to see their assignment either as particularly valuable or as particularly useless in comparision to youths working part-time during the school year.

Youths' Overall Satisfaction with Their Jobs

With respect to a more subjective measure -- how satisfied youths were with their assignments and how acceptable they found the assignments -- Table 2-7 shows that the vast majority of youths (71.3 percent) found their jobs at least acceptable, and another 20 percent stated that their jobs were "more than acceptable" ("very good," "like it very much," "very worthwhile"). Just under one-tenth found their jobs "less than acceptable." Small differences between sectors, tiers, and full-time/part-time worksites were not statistically significant.

Value of the Work to the Sponsoring Agency

A job which involves work that the sponsor values, and from his perspective is not "make work," benefits all concerned. There were different ways in which the youths' work could have value to a work sponsor. In some instances, youths were performing tasks which were essential to the current operation of the work sponsor. The assessors were frequently told by public agency work sponsors that, having encountered recent budget and staffing cuts, the youths' subsidized

TABLE 2-7

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF WORKSITE SAMPLE
BY YOUTHS' RATING
OF THE ACCEPTABILITY OF THE JOB

Acceptability Rating of Job	Percent of Worksites
More Than Acceptable	20.0
Acceptable	71.3
Less Than Acceptable	8.7
Total	100.0
Number of Worksites	520

SOURCE and NOTES: Refer to Table 2-4.

STATISTICAL NOTES: 1. Differences between the mean values of the standardized index of "acceptability" for the sectors are significant at .40 by Chi-square test. Between program tiers, the difference is significant at .85, by Chi-square test. Between full-time and part-time worksites, the difference is significant at .68, by Chi-square test.

2. Weighting the sample by number of youths observed by the worksite assessor, the proportion of "more than acceptable" responses declines to 15.2%; the proportion of "acceptable" responses increases to 77.5%; the proportion of "less than acceptable" responses declines to 7.2%.

work made a direct contribution to the agency's productivity level. In other instances, youths were assigned tasks which would not affect daily, short-term output but would allow the sponsor to catch up on backlogged filing or other support tasks, or would free regular staff from routine tasks for more critical ones. A testing laboratory, for instance, was able to use its highly skilled lab technicians more effectively because an Entitlement youth cleaned, stained, and prepared specimen slides.[1]

Assessors elicited from work sponsors answers to three different questions: whether the sponsor felt that the actual amount or quality of the youths' work provided a valuable output, whether the overall effectiveness of the agency had increased as a result of the youths' work, and whether the work done was by nature meaningful to the agency. The questions are similar, each pointing to a somewhat different facet of the contribution of the youths' work to the agency. The reason for asking several related questions is that the composite description is likely to provide a more accurate and reliable measure than the response to a single question. As with other measures, a composite index of the value to the sponsoring agency (with a Chronbach's alpha of .67) was constructed by adding up the positive responses to the three questions.

Table 2-8 indicates that when all worksites were considered, almost

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[1] The assessors were not asked to make the difficult judgments of whether the assignment of subsidized Entitlement youths amounted to direct substitution of those youths for regular staff who would otherwise have been hired. Such assessments of "displacement," in support of Congressional specification that the Secretary of Labor provide such an estimate, are the subject of a large-scale study undertaken at the direction of MDRC. Results will be reported in 1981.

TABLE 2-8

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF WORKSITE SAMPLE
BY SECTOR OF WORK SPONSOR
AND NUMBER OF SPONSOR-PERCEIVED JOB VALUES REPORTED

Number of Sponsor-Perceived Job Values Reported[c]	Percentage Distribution by Sector of Work Sponsor			
	All Sectors	Public[a]	Non-Profit[b]	For-Profit
3 (All)	62.3	62.8	61.6	62.4
2	20.8	25.6	19.2	17.5
1	9.4	5.6	8.6	13.8
0	7.5	6.1	10.6	6.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of Worksites	520	180	151	189

SOURCE and NOTES: Refer to Table 2-4.

[c]The characteristics relating to the sponsor's perception of the value of the job are:

1. Youth's work is by nature congruent with the mission of the sponsor.
2. Amount or quality of youth's work is valuable.
3. Effectiveness of the sponsor is increased due to youth's work.

STATISTICAL NOTES: 1. Differences between the mean number of reported sponsor-perceived job values for the sectors are significant at 0.5, by Chi-square test. Between program tiers the difference is significant at .17, by Chi-square test. Between full-time and part-time worksites, the difference is significant at .19 Chi-square test.

2. Weighting the sample by number of youths observed by the worksite assessor, the proportion of worksites with 3,2, 1 or 0 reported positive job values becomes 60.3, 17.5, 10.0, and 12.3 percent respectively.

two-thirds were in the highest category -- the work had inherent value to the sponsoring agency, contributed to its effectiveness, and provided valuable output in amount or quality. At over four-fifths of the worksites, sponsors indicated the work had value on at least two of the three criteria. At less than one worksite in 10 did the sponsor indicate that the work was of no particular value to the agency.

There were some slight differences between sectors, with public agencies somewhat more likely to perceive the work to be of value than nonprofit sponsors who were slightly more likely to think the youths were doing work of no particular value. Although the data did not address the issue, it is possible that public agencies, vulnerable to staff and budget cuts, may have appreciated the youths' work more. Tier I and Tier II sponsors, and full- and part-time sponsors did not differ in their assessment of the work's value.

Number of Positive Qualities Associated with Worksites

Profiles of the worksites in Entitlement have been described along several discrete dimensions, each of which appears to gauge a somewhat different aspect of worksite quality. The complexity of the work experience process as a whole therefore argues for taking a similar approach in developing an overall or composite profile of the quality of worksites.

Fourteen variables were selected from those which were applied in the development of individual characteristics. The list (see Table 2-9) brings together the several separate measures: job content, whether the youths are busy, whether the youths understand duties and performance standards, the closeness of youth-supervisor interaction, the value of the work to the youths and to the sponsoring agencies. Worksites were

TABLE 2-9

PERCENTAGES OF THE WORKSITE SAMPLE
BY NUMBER OF SELECTED POSITIVE CHARACTERISTICS REPORTED

Number of Positive Characteristics Reported[a]	Percent of Worksites		
	All Worksites	Tier I	Tier II
13 - 14	21.4	17.2	36.2
11 or More	50.7	44.5	72.5
9 or More	77.0	74.0	87.5
7 or More	91.4	89.9	96.3
5 or More	96.8	96.3	98.1
3 or More	99.6	99.8	99.0
Less Than 3	0.4	0.2	1.0
Number of Worksites	520	407	113

SOURCE and NOTES: Refer to Table 2-5.

[a]The 14 positive characteristics are:

1. Job requires mental skills.
2. Youth assigned increased responsibility over time.
3. Youth informed of attendance and performance standards.
4. Youth busy, according to assessor.
5. Youth understand duties.
6. Participant-to-supervisor ratio is less than five.
7. Supervisor-youth interact frequently.
8. Assessor judges quality of youth-supervisor interaction average or above average.
9. Youth believe they are learning skills.
10. Youth beilieve job will help get future jobs.
11. Youth find job acceptable or more than acceptable.
12. Work congruent with sponsoring agency's overall mission.
13. Output is valuable to agency.
14. Agency output increased as a result of youth work.

STATISTICAL NOTES: The difference between the mean number of characteristics for the tiers is significant at .0002 by Chi-square test. Between the sectors the differences are significant at .17 by Chi-square test. Between full-time and part-time worksites, the difference is significant at .24, by Chi-square test.

then profiled by the number of those positive qualities which were reported for each worksite, as summarized in Table 2-9. That table indicates that over three-fourths of the worksites in the sample had at least nine of the 14 positive characteristics, and that over 90 percent had seven or more positive qualities. Nearly 97 percent had at least five positive qualities, and fewer than 2 percent had less than three of these qualities.

There were no statistically significant differences below the .05 level between sites in public, private, and nonprofit sectors, nor between full- and part-time worksites with respect to the number of positive qualities present. There were, however, some notable differences between Tier I and Tier II worksites, as Table 2-9 displays. Tier II worksites were more likely to fall in the highest ranges of quality, with twice the proportion having 13 or 14 of the positive qualities. Furthermore, where nearly three-fourths of the Tier II worksites had 11 or more reported positive qualities, fewer than half the Tier I worksites met this threshold. In the middle ranges, the two tiers converged, so that the differences between the tiers on worksites reporting seven or more positve qualities were not as substantial. Nearly 90 percent of Tier I worksites had at least seven positive qualities, while Tier II reported 96 percent. One factor which may contribute to the higher levels of quality reported at Tier II sites in Table 2-9 is the more careful job development and monitoring which the smaller Tier II programs could carry out. In addition, Tier II worksites were not sampled and assessed before the summer and fall of 1979, the last half of the full assessment period. There is some reasons to suspect, as will be discussed further, that programs experienced a learning curve, reduced the

proportion of poor worksites, and monitored worksites more closely after the spring of 1979. The Tier II assessors may have been recording the net consequences of these developments in their field visits.

Since there is no universal standard for setting a threshold for acceptable worksites, the judgment of worksite quality to be drawn from Table 2-9 must of necessity be somewhat arbitrary. Consistent with the approach taken in this study and with the general practice of analyzing complex and dynamic phenomena, one way to reach a judgment on quality is to identify what kind of pattern tends to emerge from the analysis of several kinds of quality measures. The dimensions presented in Tables 2-1 to 2-8 appear to present a cumulative picture of some 85 to 90 percent of worksites being relatively strong, and fewer than 15 percent of worksites clearly lacking in any strength along the individual dimensions.

Table 2-9 also appears to fit this general pattern, with nearly 80 percent of the worksites having nine or more of 14 qualities and over 90 percent having at least seven. As with the individual characteristics, the practice of coding and analyzing "not specified" responses conservatively indicates that these figures probably understate the proportion of worksites with these numbers of positive qualities. The reader should note that each of these 14 qualities in the table has been given equal weight on the grounds that this is a reasonable presumption in the absence of a clear model which gives greater strength to some factors than others. The discussion in Chapter 3 seeks to analyze the determinants of worksite quality.

Assessor's Overall Rating of Worksite Quality

There is another approach to developing a composite judgment of worksite quality. The assessor was asked, following the field visit, to assign a single rating to the worksite: outstanding, good, adequate, or inadequate. No criteria were prescribed for reaching this judgment, but the overall judgment and experience of these individuals were relied upon. Such a rating inevitably contains subjective elements, since the assessors are asked to summarize intuitively a great many aspects of the worksite, not all of them easy to measure. Only a rating scheme like this, however, made by those with experience and information about the range of worksites, can provide some measure of the subtle interactions among worksite characteristics that may distinguish the good from the outstanding, the adequate from the inadequate.

Table 2-10 summarizes the assessors' ratings. Just under one-seventh of all the worksites were rated in the top category, "outstanding," and just over one-third were rated "good." Somewhat more than one-third were ranked "adequate," and one-seventh were rated "inadequate." There were some slight, but not statistically significant differences in assessors' ratings of worksites in different sectors or tiers, or of worksites with either part-time/full-time hours.[1]

There is no reason to think that these overall ratings are especially biased in either the positive or negative direction. Some evidence in Table 2-3 indicates that assessors were not easily impressed by what

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[1] Appendix C provides examples of worksites which assessors rated outstanding, adequate, and inadequate. These examples are summaries of narrative reports on worksites which are typical of each of those rating categories, and give concrete illustrations of the range of worksite quality.

TABLE 2-10

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF WORKSITE SAMPLE
BY ASSESSOR SITE RATING

Assessor Site Rating	Percent of Worksite
Outstanding	13.5
Good	34.9
Adequate	38.3
Inadequate	13.3
Total	100.0
Number of Worksites	520

SOURCE and NOTES: Refer to Table 2-4.

STATISTICAL NOTES: 1. Differences between the mean ratings of worksites for the sectors are significant at .25, by Chi-square test. Between tiers, the difference is significant at .07, by Chi-square test. Between full-time and part-time worksites, the difference is significant at .70, by Chi-square test.

2. Weighting the sample by number of youths observed by the worksite assessor, the distribution of worksites reported as "outstanding", "good", "adequate", and "inadequate" becomes 12.2, 30.1, 41.5, and 16.3 percent respectively.

they saw; they were noticeably less likely to describe the youths as busy than either the supervisors or the youth themselves. The number of worksites described as "inadequate" is comparable to the number where the work was described as of little or no value to the sponsoring agency (one or two "yes" responses to the questions in Table 2-8), to the number where the youths described themselves as usually not busy (Table 2-3), and to the number which had fewer than seven of the 14 positive qualities tabulated in Table 2-9.

At the same time, relatively few sites were described as "outstanding," far fewer than the proportion that would seem likely, given reasonable criteria: keeping the youths busy, providing work of value to the youths and to the sponsoring agency, having at least 11 of 14 positive qualities.

Worksites and Their Adequacy: a Summary

The data presented above provide evidence that:

-- the youths were kept generally busy at over two-thirds of the worksites (according to the assessors) and possibly at more than four-fifths (according to the youths);

-- supervisors had four or fewer youths to oversee at 80 percent of the worksites;

-- just over one-quarter of the sites manifested 10 or more of 13 desirable aspects of the supervisor-youth relationship, while two-thirds of the sites had seven or more;

-- the youths at about 30 percent of the sites felt their assignment was of value to them, according to at least three of four available criteria;

-- the youths at over 90 percent of the sites found their jobs at least "acceptable," including 20 percent who found them more than acceptable;

-- the work at over three-fifths of all worksites was of value to the sponsoring agency according to all three criteria utilized, and at four-fifths according to two criteria of three;

-- over three-fourths of the worksites manifested at least nine of 14 positive worksite qualities, and over 90 percent reported at least seven positive qualities;

-- almost 14 percent of all sites were rated as outstanding, and over 85 percent were rated as adequate or better by the site assessors;

The data can also try to assess what proportion of the worksites were simply inadequate with regard to the goals of Entitlement. Although there can probably be no unarguable way to distinguish adequate worksites from inadequate ones, the following data present a fairly consistent and convincing pattern:

-- the youths were described as not busy at between 4.8 percent and 13.3 percent of the worksites (Table 2-3);

-- 9.8 percent of the worksites manifested three or fewer of the desirable aspects of the supervisor-youth relationship described in Table 2-5;

-- there was no evidence that the youths found the work of value to themselves at 20.4 percent of the worksites (Table 2-6), and the youths said they found the jobs less than acceptable at 8.7 percent of the sites (Table 2-7);

-- 7.5 percent of all worksites provided no meaningful output to the sponsoring agency, and an additional 9.4 percent provided output meaningful according to only one of three criteria (Table 2-8);

-- less than 10 percent of the worksites manifested fewer than seven of 14 positive worksite qualities (Table 2-9);

-- the site assessors described 13.3 percent of the sites as inadequate.

There may be disagreement about what constitutes "adequacy" along each dimension, but, when considered together, the distribution along the various dimensions and by the aggregate measure (Table 2-9) seem to form a pattern: the proportion of worksites that could be described as inadequate seems to run from a minimum of perhaps 5 percent to a maximum of about 15 percent, with the average being fairly close to the 13.3 percent. On balance, it would probably be fair to say that around 10

percent, and no more than 15 percent of the worksites could be described as simply inadequate.

With respect to the factors assessed, there were few differences in quality between full- and part-time worksites. Although some observers speculated that it might be more difficult to organize well-structured work in part-time after-school jobs, that work sponsors might take these jobs less seriously and be more likely to provide "make-work," the data do not confirm those speculations. Most of the worksites in the demonstration, and in the sample, operated year-round, and it may be that this fact makes the availability of subsidized youth workers more attractive to sponsors, and thereby makes the jobs appear more valuable to the youths.

A few differences were found between Tier I and Tier II worksites, although these did not show up along all dimensions. The lack of emphatic and consistent quality differences would appear to indicate that there were no substantial trade-offs for the large Tier I Entitlement projects both in developing hundreds of worksites and in having them of generally acceptable quality.

General job content, however, in terms of skill level, training, and increasing responsibility, was higher at Tier II programs. Smaller programs were able to spend relatively more time on identifying good jobs. Furthermore, there was likely to be more frequent youth-supervisor interaction at Tier II sites, and while job satisfaction was no greater, youths at Tier II worksites were more likely to perceive some future value to their current experience. There were much higher proportions of Tier II worksites with 11 or more of 14 positive qualities. Finally, although the differences do not quite meet the threshold of .05 statis-

tical significance, Tier II assessors did rate their worksites higher (at the .07 level) than Tier I assessors.

Several of the Tier II programs responded to the legislative authorization to engage in more innovative programming by stongly emphasizing the development of worksites that were not run-of-the-mill. In general, the only worksites where youth earned more than the minimum wage were at two of the Tier II sites. There were relatively more private sector manufacturing worksites at these programs than at Tier I sites. Closer and more substantive contact between field counselors, work sponsors, and assigned youths was more feasible at the smaller programs. Contacts were less likely to be limited to distribution of paychecks.

Finally, private, nonprofit, and public sector worksites were not substantially different on most of the dimensions discussed. The differences could be described as statistically significant in only three areas: the work done by the youths was slightly less likely to be of value to the sponsoring agency at nonprofit worksites than elsewhere; the youths were somewhat more likely to believe their assignments were of value to them at private sites; and there were likely to be somewhat more youths per supervisor at nonprofit worksites. In addition, although the differences along other dimensions were not statistically significant, there was a fairly consistent tendency for private sector worksites to be rated somewhat above average and nonprofit worksites a little below average, with public sector sites in the middle. This is due to ratings on whether the youths were kept busy, the job content index, the number of positive qualities per worksite, and the site monitor ratings. To the extent that the data provide evidence of differences among sectors,

private sector worksites were slightly more satisfactory than public sector sites, and these in turn were slightly better than nonprofit worksites. The differences were generally small, however, and the similarities between sectors were more striking than the differences.

Factors in Program Implementation Affecting Worksite Quality

Whether one is to regard the finding that 85 to 90 percent of the worksites in Entitlement are of adequate or better quality as reflecting a solid achievement by Entitlement prime sponsors is somewhat akin to the economist's proverbial glass water: some might regard it as 85 to 90 percent full, while others would point out that it is 10 to 15 percent empty. Taking the management-by-exception viewpoint, findings from the general analysis of program implementation in the demonstration are applied below to try to explain why 10 percent, or perhaps even 15 percent, of the worksites might have been lacking in one or more positive characteristics. Data collected to inform three separate reports on program implementation from the demonstration's inception to the period ending in the fall of 1979 have been consulted, as have been highly detailed program data collected through an MDRC-managed Entitlement Information System (EIS). (See MDRC, 1979; Ball et al, 1979; and Diaz et al, 1980 for a more complete discussion of data sources.)

In the brief overview discussion of the demonstration (Chapter 1), it was noted that both the time and scale of program start-up were constraining factors for the CETA prime sponsors who directed Entitlement. Although all prime sponsors had had experience in enrolling and developing jobs for large numbers of youths in the Summer Youth Employment Program (SYEP), none of the Tier I sponsors had prior experience on such

a large-scale year-round jobs program. Worksites did not start and stop in an eight-week period but had to be developed continuously, with a view toward structuring part-time as well as full-time work periods. There was fairly high turnover of both enrolled youths and active work sponsors throughout this period (over 40 percent of work sponsors ever active since early 1978 had ceased participation by September 1979; Diaz, et al, 1980).

To begin such a large enterprise, prime sponsor staffs had to develop and learn how to operate effectively continuous outreach and recruitment mechanisms, a complex program data (EIS) system, continuous job development (including the private sector for the first time in a youth program), massive year-round youth payrolls, monthly school attendance and performance reporting systems for participants, and ongoing job assignment and liaison procedures with active work sponsors. Compressed into the spring and early summer of 1978, these activities permitted neither pre-testing of job development and job assignment procedures, nor extensive training of job development and assignment staff. To locate such staff, as well as staff to serve as liaisons to work sponsors, several prime sponsors used Public Service Employment funds (Titles II and VI of CETA) and drew upon lists of PSE applicants, who were usually relatively low-skilled and with little program staff experience.

Prime sponsors did not operate under fixed budget allocations, which would have provided a target number of youths for enrollment and work slots. Instead, as an entitlement program, sponsors had to develop enough jobs to meet all the new enrollments, who could sign up at any time, and once certified, those eligible were entitled to a guaranteed

work experience. There were delays in making those assignments at some sites, but by the late spring of 1979, Tier I sponsors were assigning over half of their new enrollees within three weeks of enrollment, and taking more than eight weeks for only about 5 percent (Diaz, et al, 1980). Overall, prime sponsors succeeded in assigning over 93 percent of the enrollees to jobs.

The pressure to find jobs for youths and place them quickly often got ahead of the pace of new job development in the first 10 to 12 months of the program. This therefore placed the Tier I sponsors in the position of having to assign extra youths to existing worksites until the development of new and smaller worksites could catch up and youths could be reassigned. These "overflow" worksites tended to be in the public sector, which was accustomed to sponsoring large numbers of youths in the SYEP program.

In the analysis of the sample of 520 worksites, the very large worksites (those with more than 25 youths assigned) tended to be of substantially lower quality than the much more numerous small worksites (those with four or fewer youths assigned). For instance, the mean value of the assessors' site rating for all worksites was 2.26 (where inadequate worksites were rated one, adequate worksites were rated two, and so forth), and the mean value for worksites with four or fewer youths ranged from 2.35 to 2.65. The mean value for worksites with over 25 youths ranged from only 1.77 to 1.89, however. In similar fashion, the standardized indices of youth busyness, value of work to the agency, value of the work to youth, youth job satisfaction, and job content tended to display similar patterns. Although there was not a linear relationship

with worksite size, the very small worksites were above average on these indices and the very large worksites were generally below average, often substantially below average.

As the programs stabilized, there was some improvement in job development and more intensive monitoring of worksites on quality considerations. Not only had the sponsors been able to get their program operations more under control once systems were established and the first big waves of new enrollees had leveled off, but they also had time to turn their attention to worksite quality considerations. There were, in addition, external incentives which encouraged more careful worksite monitoring. The Department of Labor required prime sponsors and its own regional office staffs to visit SYEP worksites several times during the summer 1979 period and this tended to stir up interest in monitoring at all programs. Furthermore, the U.S. General Accounting Office had notified Entitlement sponsors that its staff would be conducting program audits of the demonstration, including worksite reviews. These internal and external factors led to the development and fielding of formal monitoring instruments, and while the instruments did not always successfully flag problem worksites, the presence of program field monitors may have had some effect upon work sponsor practices.

Perhaps more importantly, program staffs were now better able to respond to complaints from youths about problem worksites. Either informal efforts to improve certain work sponsors, or simple attrition of poor work sponsors as better worksites were developed, tended to weed out some of the worst worksites. One indicator of progress in this area was an increase over time in the proportion of very small worksites,

and a decline in the proportion of large worksites, as Table 2-11 shows. In September 1978, at the start of field visits for this study, about 69 percent of public sector worksites had four or fewer youths assigned and nearly 6 percent had more than 25 youths. By November 1979, at the end of the field visit period, these proportions had shifted, with worksites assigned four or fewer youths increasing to 78 percent and those with more than 25 youths declining to 2 percent. A similar, even more dramatic pattern was observed at nonprofit worksites. Private-for-profit work sponsorships did not change in size from fall 1978 to fall 1979; over 90 percent of all private businesses employed fewer than five youths, and only a fraction of 1 percent sponsored more than 25. It appears that the Entitlement sponsors moved along a learning curve on job development, and that this is reflected in their pattern of replacing large worksites with smaller ones which were more likely to have higher quality. Furthermore, since over four-fifths of the sample in this study consisted of Tier I worksites, and over half were worksites visited during the 1978-79 school year, the sample may tend to overestimate the proportion of inadequate worksites that were in operation by the 1979-80 academic year.

Within the compressed time frame and with the high volume of job development which the larger programs had to undertake, the findings that 85 to 90 percent of the worksites were at least adequate, and that there were relatively few differences on quality dimensions between worksites in Tier II and Tier I projects, may stand as testament to the possibility of developing large numbers of reasonably high quality worksites. If these projects had been given the opportunity to plan and phase-in their enrollment, it appears likely that the proportion of inadequate worksites

TABLE 2-11

PERCENT OF ACTIVE WORK SPONSORS
AT THE END OF SEPTEMBER 1978 AND NOVEMBER 1979
WITH LESS THAN 5 OR MORE THAN 25 ASSIGNED YOUTHS BY SECTOR OF WORK SPONSOR

Sector of Work Sponsor	Percent of Active Sponsors by Number of Assigned Youths[a]		
	1-2	1-4	More Than 25
Public[b]:			
End of September 1978	53.6	68.6	5.5
End of November 1979	61.8	77.5	2.4
Non-Profit[c]:			
End of September 1978	50.7	69.3	3.3
End of November 1979	66.9	83.0	0.6
For-Profit:			
End of September 1978	79.5	91.2	0.2
End of November 1979	82.6	93.6	0.1
All Worksites:			
End of September 1978	62.3	77.1	2.1
End of November 1979	70.9	85.0	1.0

SOURCE AND NOTES: Refer to Table 1-1.

might have been lower. Some other possible implications for the improvement of worksite quality in Entitlement and other youth work experience demonstrations will be addressed in the concluding chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

DETERMINANTS OF WORKSITE QUALITY

Introduction

In Chapter 2 the findings on worksite quality were reported in a fairly straightforward fashion; the proportion of worksites that had certain particular characteristics present were examined. In some instances the relative strength of worksites was gauged along a particular dimension, either by constructing standardized indices or by counting the reported number of characteristics related to a particular dimension. This type of assessment has been used in several other studies. With this approach, the relative impact of different characteristics on worksite quality was not discussed, since there is no strong agreement among analysts regarding this, nor are there well-validated measures which could have permitted the determination of a "model" worksite against which to assess the worksites in the sample. Similarly modest assumptions were applied in constructing the composite measure (Table 2-9) of the number of different qualities which worksites were reported to manifest. Essentially each of those variables was given equal weight (value to youth, job content, etc.). The assumption was made that the more of those qualities present at a worksite, the higher the quality of the worksite. No qualities were specified as more important, nor did any particular quality or combination of qualities have to be present for a worksite to be judged adequate.

It was concluded from the literature review, and confirmed from round-table discussion with worksite assessors, that there may be many

roads to good quality. Particular strength in one characteristic might offset some weakness in another. And much of what fosters a youth's enthusiasm and motivation to develop good work habits may be relatively idiosyncratic to the particular youth; for example, the relationship which he or she develops with a supervisor, and so on.

Even given that there is no easily identifiable, single model of a "best" worksite, it is clear that the assessment of worksite quality could be advanced, and the criteria applied by both policymakers and program operators could be more useful, if more were known about what factors determine worksite quality. It intuitively makes good sense that some factors might be of much greater importance than others, even with the many intangible features that could affect quality. An analysis was therefore undertaken -- made possible by the size of the sample and the variety of factors that were assessed in the field -- to identify the more important determinants of worksite quality. The findings from this analysis are presented in this chapter.

The Causal Analysis Approach

In situations where an outcome is affected by a range of factors, a statistical technique called multiple regression analysis can often be used to determine how strongly each of the factors affects the outcome. In fact, it is possible to calculate the relative weight that each of a large number of factors has on the outcome simultaneously. Thus, for example, economic forecasters using this technique can estimate the impact on youth unemployment of factors like changes in the GNP, the minimum wage, and the number of youths entering the labor markets; the effect of each can be gauged independently of all the others.

This technique can be used here to explain the judgments about worksite quality made by the field assessors, the youths at the worksites, and the worksite sponsors. Two of these parties are direct participants in the work experience, and while their judgments about quality may not be wholly objective, they are undoubtedly important.

Youth and work sponsor judgments of quality were determined by the degree to which they perceived the work to be of value on standardized indices of "value to youth" and "value to sponsoring agency," as set forth in Tables 2-6 and 2-8. The youth index gauged the degree to which youths thought the experience would help them with future employment, and whether the youths thought the work was important to the work sponsor. The work sponsor index gauged the degree to which the sponsor reported that the youths' work made a contribution to the agency's mission and increased its output. In addition to serving as measures of judgments on quality, these factors in some sense measured the "meaningfulness" of the work experience to the two directly involved parties. Since the sponsor index also involved judgments about actual output, that index measured to some degree the extent to which the jobs were not "make-work." Therefore, if the factors which are likely to lead to positive youth or work sponsor assessments are determined, some guidance can be offered on how to develop subsidized worksites which minimize the likelihood of make-work.

The field assessors' judgments are those of a relatively disinterested party, and since the field assessors had experience as manpower program operators or analysts, their opinions on worksite quality reflect judgments that take into account their knowledge of other employment and

training programs. The factors were analyzed which contributed to their rating of an Entitlement worksite as outstanding, good, adequate, or inadequate.

This causal analysis, like other quantitative approaches in the social sciences, requires the reader to have fairly thorough grounding in advanced statistics to fully understand or appreciate the analysis. To present the findings in a technical manner, however, would make them inaccessible to most readers. The substantive analysis is therefore presented in words, although this may somewhat oversimplify the results. For the interested reader, the analysis and methodology is reported in more detail in Appendix B. When quantitative results are used in this chapter, the numbers are explained.

Overall Determinants of Worksite Quality

To conduct the causal analysis, the variables and factors presented in Chapter 2 were added to others from the coded assessor reports. The data cover eight aspects of worksite quality, including the judgments of youths, work sponsors, and assessors:

1. overall quality (assessor site rating)
2. value of the work to the sponsoring agency
3. attitudes of the youths toward their jobs (both on the utility of the job and whether they like it)
4. whether the youths were consistently busy
5. the supervisor-youth relationship
6. the content of the jobs performed by most of the youths at each worksite
7. worksite organization (including awareness of rules, standards applied, number of youths per supervisor, etc.)
8. worksite type (including tier, full- or part-time)

Table 3-1 describes the variables used in the analysis. Some of them have already been described in Chapter 2, and the tables in which they were presented are referred to in parentheses. The 24 variables listed (some of which are composite indices formed of a number of variables) provide a broad description of each worksite.

Determinants of the Assessor's Worksite Rating

When the impact of the 24 variables on the assessor's site rating is examined, it is found that these factors accounted for 41 percent of the variance -- that is, a bit less than half of the differences among worksites, as they ranged from inadequate to outstanding, was due to differences among worksites in the value of the work to the agency, youths' attitudes, how busy the youth were, and so forth. Although it is impossible to explain differences among worksites completely, the results are, in fact, quite satisfactory compared to the usual results expected when many objects are studied in an area where theory is relatively undeveloped.

In Table 3-2 the variables which contributed to the assessors' judgments are presented in rank order. Coefficients can range in value from -1 to +1. A coefficient of +1 means that two variables are perfectly and positively related. As the explanatory variable increases by an amount, the variable being explained (assessor's rating, in this case) increases by the same amount. A coefficient of 0 means that there is no relationship between the two variables, and a coefficient of -1 means that there is a perfect negative relationship; as the explanatory variable increases by some amount, the assessor's rating decreases by the same amount. In practice, very few relationships are ever close to

TABLE 3-1

INDICES AND VARIABLES INCLUDED IN MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSES
ORGANIZED BY MAJOR FACTOR

Reference Number[a]	Index or Variable	Table Reference[b]
1	Assessor Site Rating	2-10
2	Value of Work to Sponsor Index	2-8
3	Youth Attitudes	N/A
3.1	Value of work to youth index	2-6
3.2	Acceptability of job to youth	2-7
4	Youth Busy Index	2-3
5	Supervisor-Youth Relationship Index	2-5
6	Content of Job	N/A
6.1	Job content index	2-1, 2-2
6.2	Work involves simple, repetitious tasks?	N/A
6.3	Conscious effort to rotate assignments?	N/A
6.4	Tasks involve physical skills?	N/A
6.5	Job requires interpersonal skills?	N/A
7	Worksite Organization	N/A
7.1	Awareness of standards index[c]	N/A
7.2	Youth understand their duties?	N/A
7.3	Performance of youth judged according to same standards applied to regular beginning employees?	N/A
7.4	Youth to complete tasks within specified time?	N/A
7.5	Supervisor feel appropriate number of youth at worksite?	N/A
7.6	Youth : supervisor ratio	N/A
7.7	How long supervisor worked at business or agency?	N/A
7.8	Youth work close to regular staff?	N/A
8	Worksite Type	N/A
8.1	Tier (I and II)	N/A
8.2	Sector of agency (public, nonprofit, private)	N/A
8.3	Full-time or part-time work	N/A
8.4	Number of youth assigned	N/A
8.5	Manner of job placement (normal or special)	N/A
8.6	Number of jobs at site	N/A

NOTES: [a]Factors and variables are numbered to provide a cross-reference for tables 3-2, 3-3 and 3-4.

[b]Table references apply to profile of worksites in Chapter 2 by the variable or index referenced. Further discussion of indices is in Chapter 2 text accompanying the table.

[c]Awareness of standards index is an additive index including:
Supervisor informed of payroll procedures?
Supervisor informed of supervision requirements?
Supervisor informed of attendance or performance standards?
Youth informed of attendance or performance standards?
Cronbach's alpha = .48

TABLE 3-2

DETERMINANTS OF SITE ASSESSOR'S RATINGS
OF WORKSITES

Reference Number	Factor	Standardized Regression Coefficient
4	Youth Kept busy	.290
3.2	Youth satisfied with assignment	.249
6	Job content index	.159
2	Value of work to work sponsor	.093
7.3	Youth judged by same standards as regular employees	.078
3.1	Value of assignment to youth	.064
7.7	Supervisor's experience	.061
6.4	Job requires physical skills	-.067
7.6	Participant to supervisor ratio	-.089
6.2	Job is simple and repetitious	-.094
	Total R^2	.41

NOTE: Only regression coefficients which are significant at the .05 level or better are tabulated.

either -1 or +1, because the outcomes are always affected by many factors, not just one. The relative size of each factor does indicate the relative strength of that factor's relationship to the assessor's rating, however. In Table 3-2 only those factors which correlate with a statistical significance of at least .05 are reported; that is, only those factors where there is at least a 95 percent chance that the correlation does not spring from sampling error.

As Table 3-2 indicates, three factors made the greatest contribution to the assessors' quality ratings: whether the youths were judged busy, whether the youths were satisfied with the job, and whether the job had relatively high job content. Worksites deficient on these qualities were much more likely to receive a low assessor rating, and vice versa. The importance of these factors in a quality judgment certainly confirms some of the hypotheses, observations, and findings from other worksite evaluations and the job satisfaction literature. Particularly important may be the high value which the assessors placed on the youths not being idle.

As Table 3-2 also indicates, there is a range of other factors which affected assessor judgments, and these also are generally consistent with both common sense and the literature review. If the work sponsor judged the work to be of value to the agency's purpose and contributing to its output, assessors were more likely to give the worksite a high score, as they were also if the youths believed the work would help them get a job in the future. In addition, meaningfulness and value from the youths' and sponsors' perspectives influenced the assessors' ratings, reflecting that assessors respected these other judgments

and took them to be an affirmation of the quality of the worksite. Assessors also put some weight on the number of years supervisors had spent at the worksite, and they appeared to regard it as of some importance that youths be held to the same work performance standards as the other, non-subsidized employees at the agency.

Several factors, when present, tended to lower an assessor's rating, and these appear to form a pattern that is consistent with the positive qualities. Jobs which were simple and repetitious, and jobs which required primarily physical skills (such as janitorial jobs) tended to be associate with lower ratings. So did high ratios of participants to supervisors. Large worksites where the youths performed janitorial and grounds maintenance kinds of jobs were less likely to please the assessors, and this confirms the descriptive findings in Chapter 2 that such worksites were less likely to have positive qualities.

In summary, assessors found greater quality when the work was varied and highly skilled, when the youths did not have too much time on their hands, when the youths both liked the job and believed it would help them in the future, and when the sponsors believed the work had real value to their mission.

Determinants of Work Sponsor Judgments

The same analysis was applied to the work sponsors' judgments of the relative value of the work. Table 3-3 displays in rank orders the factors which had statistically significant relationship to work sponsors' judgments. In many respects, the same factors which influenced assessors also mattered to work sponsors.

TABLE 3-3

DETERMINANTS OF WORK SPONSOR'S JUDGMENT
OF VALUE OF WORK

Reference Number	Factor	Standardized Regression Coefficient
5	Supervisor-youth interaction index	.214
4	Youth kept busy	.164
3.2	Youth satisfied with assignment	.109
6.5	Job requires social skills	.102
7.1	Youth aware of standards	.098
3.1	Value of assignment to youth	.070
8.3	Jobs are part-time	-.091
7.5	Participant to supervisor ratio	-.160
	Total R^2	.37

NOTE: Only regression coefficients which are significant at the .05 level or better are tabulated.

Work sponsors also placed weight on the youths being busy and on their satisfaction with their assignment, as did the assessors. One important factor to work sponsors, which did not have a statistically significant effect on assessor judgment, was the frequency and quality of the youth-supervisor interaction. Work sponsors attached merit to the supervisors' attention to the youths, explanation of tasks, availability to answer questions, and so forth. That this would be important to work sponsors, but not as much so to assessors, probably reflects the fact that the work sponsors had direct day-to-day contact with the youth. Those supervisors who had structured work that permitted close interaction, and those who paid close attention to the youths, were more likely to think that the youths were doing valuable and meaningful work. Sponsors who did not care what the youths did, or paid no attention to them, may have been more likely to create "make-work" out of charitable or other less self-interested motives.

Work sponsor ratings were also influenced by youths' awareness of performance standards and by the youths' beliefs that the work would help them get a job in the future, as Table 3-3 shows. Another factor, which was not particularly important to assessors but which influenced work sponsor judgments, was whether the job required that youths have social or interpersonal skills. In part, this may have reflected the weight that the work sponsors placed on youths being able to get along with others in a work situation. This was probably especially needed in those jobs where the youths had to interact with the "public," whether it was customers at a store, or children at a day-care center. Another way to interpret that factor is that work sponsors who employed youths where

such social skills were necessary were particularly likely to find the work valuable.

As with the assessors, work sponsors were less likely to find the work valuable to them when the participant-to-supervisor ratio was very high. This may capture another dimension of "there not being enough work" for the youths to do, and of sponsors not being concerned enough to assign more supervisors or to employ only as many youth as were important for output.

Determinants of Youth Judgments

Several factors influenced the judgments by youths that the work would have some future "payoff" for them, and that the work was important to their work sponsor. As did the work sponsors, youths valued frequency of interaction with their supervisors. When the work sponsor paid attention to them, they were more likely to think the work would benefit them or that they would obtain a good job reference. The youths also felt they would find more future benefit if they were busy on their current worksite. They preferred jobs with higher skills and enrichment potential and felt, quite reasonably, that this would make the best contribution to their future employability. Conversely, they gave negative weight to simple jobs, as Table 3-4 indicates.

Since youths were influenced in their judgments by whether they were held to the same standards as regular agency employees, whether they were aware of the sponsors' performance standards, and whether they understood their job assignments, it appears that, generally speaking, the youths believed that good work habits, fair standards, and knowing their duties were more likely to contribute to their future employability. On the

TABLE 3-4

DETERMINANTS OF YOUTH'S JUDGMENT
OF VALUE OF WORK

Reference Number	Factor	Standardized Regression Coefficient
5	Supervisor-youth interaction index	.246
8.2	Job is in private sector	.125
4	Youth are Kept busy	.115
6.1	Job content index	.113
8.5	Youth assigned by special placement	.100
7.1	Youth are aware of standards	.075
7.3	Youth judged by same standards as regular employees	.069
8.6	Number of jobs at worksite	.067
7.2	Youth understand duties	.061
6.2	Job is simple and repetitious	-.059
7.8	Youth interact with regular staff	-.067
8.1	Job is in Tier I	-.146
7.4	Tasks are times	-.190
	Total R^2	.31

NOTE: Only regression coefficients which are significant at the .05 level or better are tabulated.

other hand, youths did not see much value in being held to productivity standards.

The youths were more likely to think that private sector assignments would help them obtain future jobs, which is probably a reasonable judgment, given the share of private sector jobs in the economy and their perception that a private employer could be more likely to hire them on a regular basis than one in the public sector. Youths who had been assigned under a "special placement" arrangement, which usually meant jobs that were tailored to their particular interests or competency, were also more likely to value the job highly. Youth in Tier I programs were less likely to give positive value to their assignment, which appears consistent with the findings from Chapter 2 that Tier II staffs could engage in somewhat more careful and individualized job development.

Youths at the worksites, then, appeared to value some of the same factors which mattered to work sponsors and site assessors, particularly that they be busy. They also agreed with the assessors that skilled jobs were more valuable, and that simple and repetitious jobs were less likely to lead somewhere. They shared with their sponsors the sense that frequent interaction with supervisors was important. The youths' responses also seemed to substantiate some outside claims that youth "don't want to adhere to standards." However, they placed weight on being aware of standards and being judged by the same standards as regular employees.

A Model of Worksite Operation

With the analysis above, several variables and factors have been identified which account for a fair amount of the variance in quality

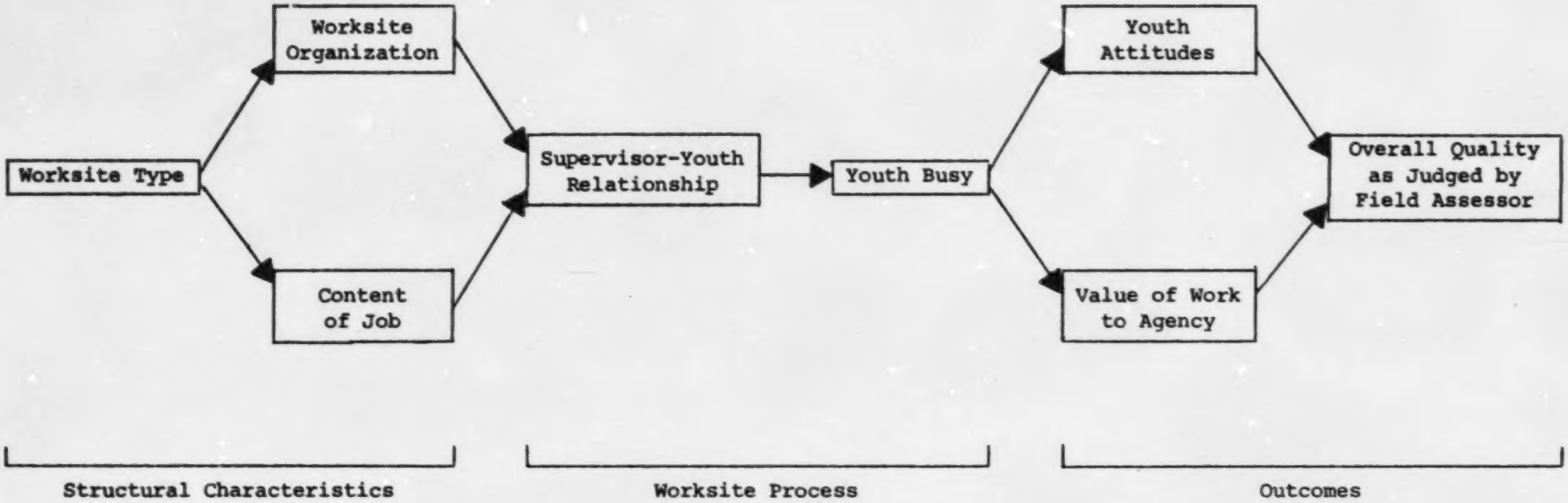
judgments reached by site assessors, youths, and work sponsors. To some degree, these variables operate independently of each other, in that each of them, controlling for all the others, can "explain" some of the differences in judgment from high to low, outstanding to inadequate. From that perspective, if an Entitlement prime sponsor wanted to develop and oversee worksites that would rate high scores from assessors, the sponsor staff should develop jobs with relatively high skill content and monitor the operation of the worksites to ensure that youths are kept busy, that youths are satisfied with the assignment, and that the work sponsor values the work for its output, among other factors (as shown in Table 3-2).

As a matter of allocating scarce staff resources, prime sponsors have to strike some balance between the aspects of worksite operation that they think may have the greatest effect on work quality. While it is important both to hire job developers who can recruit and screen potential work sponsors and also to assign staff who can effectively monitor worksites once they are up and running, it might be that greater emphasis on one or the other activity could be more profitable in influencing worksite quality. In order to explore this issue, a model of worksite "evolution" was developed in which several stages in the development of worksite are examined. Figure 3-1 represents that model schematically.

As the figure indicates, the process of worksite evolution has been divided into several steps, in which certain choices that are reached "early" are hypothesized to influence other aspects of worksite operation which follow those choices in time. Whether the data might support

FIGURE 3-1

SCHEMATIC MODEL OF THE DEVELOPMENTAL PROCESS DETERMINING WORKSITE QUALITY



a hypothesis that certain structural choices (about the type of worksite, background of supervisor, ratio of participants to supervisor, and so forth) can influence later processes at the worksite (the frequency of supervisor-youth interaction, degree to which youth are kept busy) is explored through a statistical modeling technique. In turn, it is hypothesized that these characteristics of worksite structure, and their effect on worksite processes, affect youth satisfaction, youth sponsor judgments of value, and ultimately the overall rating of the assessors.

If the dynamic interaction of "earlier" and "later" factors tends to coincide with this developmental model, it might suggest that prime sponsors should pay particular attention to initial job development and screening of work sponsors, since those structural choices might shape the way a worksite operates. For example, once a work sponsor has been screened for offering a reasonably skilled job, for emphasizing good performance standards, and for having a low participant-to-supervisor ratio, then the operation of the worksite would more likely manifest close supervisor-youth interaction, satisfied participants, and valuable and meaningful work. And an independent assessor observing the worksite, both with respect to its predefined structure and its actual operation, would be likely to find it a good quality worksite. Put another way, if the data support this developmental model, it would be as if the actual work process which the assessor observed incorporated the effects of the earlier structural choices which job developers had made in selecting worksites.

To explore the relationship of the data to the model of workplace evolution, a regression analysis was used to partition the variance in

worksite quality among variables of different types (see Duncan, 1970). In essence, those variables which gauged the earlier structural choices of worksite type and worksite organization (see Table 3-1) were included in a regression equation to see how much of the variance could be explained by those variables alone. Then those factors which gauged the later observable process of worksite activity were added, followed by the variables that gauged youth job satisfaction, and youth and work sponsor assessments of value. This procedure showed how much each type of variable contributed to worksite quality, given the impact of the variables preceding it. Thus, the full impact of early decisions about the structure of worksites on worksite quality could be assessed by showing how great an impact worksite type and other "early" variables had on the site rating.

The evolutionary model can be examined another way as well, by entering the variables in reverse order, with those "closest" to worksite quality -- such as youth satisfaction -- included first, and the basic worksite structures set up initially entered last. This way, the extent to which the impact of variables on quality is direct or indirect can be examined. When a type of variable is added which increases the variance, it can be concluded that its impact on worksite quality is direct; taking it into account enables an immediate distinction between better and worse worksites. When a type of variable is added which does not increase the variance, it can be concluded that its impact is indirect; thus, for example, if worksite organization led to worksite quality by affecting youths' attitudes (that is, indirectly), but had no direct impact in and of itself, adding worksite organization to the

equation would not increase the variance. Both of these ways of looking at the evolution of worksites statistically are mathematically identical. They just represent different arrangements of the same data which can be useful for learning about how worksites develop.

When worksite activity is analyzed this way, the data show that worksite type played a relatively small role in determining the assessors' worksite ratings; the same is true of the supervisor-youth relationship. Worksite organization and job content, on the other hand, had a strong impact on the worksite rating; and the strongest direct determinants of the assessors' ratings were youth attitudes, the value of the work to the agency, and the busyiness of the youth. In fact, job content was important to a large extent precisely because better jobs kept youths busier, improved their attitudes, and provided work of more value to the sponsoring agency. In a sense, it can be said that the assessors considered both earlier and later factors, but that the data tended to show that the assessors weighted the variables as if the ones that influenced them most directly were the youths' and work sponsors' own assessments and how busy the youths were. It appears that the assessors respected those youth and sponsor judgments and took them to be good indicators of overall quality.

Considering the process leading to the production of work of value to the sponsoring agency from this evolutionary perspective, it seems that the most basic determinants of value of work were job content, worksite organization (particularly youth-to-supervisor ratio and awareness of standards), and closeness of supervision. Much of the impact of these factors was indirect, however; they influenced busyness and attitudes of youth, which in turn affected value to sponsor. Thus,

it may be said that the most conspicuous earmarks of worksites where work of value to the sponsor is being carried out will be where the youth are kept busy, where they are satisfied with their jobs and when they feel the jobs are valuable. But these manifestations of a satisfactory worksite rest upon the presence of relatively interesting jobs, careful organization, and close supervision. The importance of close supervision, in particular, is notable.

When it comes to the youths' evaluation of the utility of their experience, they appeared to evaluate worksites highly when the sites were well organized and closely supervised; the content of the jobs was somewhat less important.

While this sort of statistical modeling, particularly in an area as complex as worksite quality, must be regarded as suggestive and hardly conclusive, this analysis of direct and indirect effects on quality does tend to support the hypothesis presented above. Some of the critical structural determinants, such as job content, participant-to-supervisor ratios, and work sponsor performance expectations, have an effect upon the way in which a worksite develops, including whether youths are likely to be kept busy. This suggests that program staff might be well advised to pay particular attention to program job development. Getting good jobs in terms of the kind of work to be done, and ensuring low ratios of youths to supervisors, may increase the likelihood that both of the directly affected parties will value the work and that independent assessors will regard the worksites highly. And, one can presume with some plausibility, if the youths are busy and both youths and sponsors value the work being performed, the setting is more likely to encourage good work habits.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONCLUSIONS

It may very well be that the most accurate statement made in response to the question, "What constitutes a good quality work experience setting for youth?" is the observation frequently expressed by the field assessors in this study: it all depends. If the purpose of work experience is to foster general working skills and good work habits, the factors that "work" depend on a range of contingencies: the motivation, skill level, and job interests of different youths; the right match between youths and their supervisors; a firm but sensitive and flexible application of performance standards; and jobs in which the youths believe they are doing something useful for the employers, or the communities, or themselves. The process of developing positive work attitudes does not begin, or end, with work experience in the teen years; family and school contribute; later positive and negative experiences in regular jobs contribute; and the work experience is only a relatively brief and partial intervention in the youths' lives, even in the Entitlement Demonstration where the work experience may be year-round for as long as two years.

This complexity does not obviate the need for policymakers and program operators to develop some criteria for assessing work quality, for judging the utility of investing public funds or to have some benchmark for identifying and improving bad worksites. The assessment in this study was begun with an awareness of the relatively primitive state of knowledge on assessment criteria, and this assessment has therefore

been reached by a range of methods.

Using the most straightforward of methods, it was found that, despite the pressures of time and scale which many prime sponsors faced in launching Entitlement, the net consequence has been a very high proportion of worksites (nearly nine-tenths of them) which are adequate or better along several individual and composite criteria. Youths are generally busy, satisfied with their assignments, and inclined to believe the work experience will help their future employment. Work sponsors believe that the work the youths do contributes to their output and supports their overall mission. Supervisors at worksites are responsible for only one or two youths in four-fifths of the cases.

It does not appear that operating worksites year-round, changing weekly job hours from part-time to full-time and back, sacrifices work quality. In fact, it may be that work sponsors and youths take the endeavor more seriously on a year-round basis, and that both find greater value and meaningfulness in a setting where there is a longer-term commitment. Furthermore, although there are some differences between jobs in public, nonprofit, and private sector settings, the similarities in general quality appear to be greater. Private businesses were not seen to have dramatically higher quality, although the nature of Entitlement may make the availability of private sector positions useful. The ability to solicit work sponsorship in the private sector may have a leavening effect on the quality of work in all sectors.

Given the conditions under which Entitlement was implemented, one might be particularly surprised that the work experience was generally of adequate or better quality. There was a massive effort to sign up

potential work sponsors in advance of program start-up. While this may have speeded up the process of enrollment and job assignment, it made careful pre-screening unlikely at most programs. And, as with most new ventures in which organizations must learn how to operate on the job, prime sponsor staffs attended first to those tasks which needed doing immediately. In the early press to enroll youths, job development could not be handled with much attention to quality. And, not until enrollments had stabilized and operations routinized could the large Entitlement programs pay close attention to monitoring worksites for quality. With over 8,000 work sponsors active at some time between March 1978 and November 1979, it is gratifying that there were not even higher proportions of poor work experience. Some other characteristics of program implementation and of the Entitlement model, supported with the findings on the determinants of worksite quality, may offer an explanation and provide some lessons for further improving worksite quality.

Several factors contributed to worksite quality, whether judged by work sponsors, youths, or site assessors. Some may be particularly relevant under the conditions of Entitlement's implementation. First, a low ratio of participants to supervisors made a difference to both site assessors and work sponsors. The frequency of interaction between supervisors and youths was important to the youths and their work sponsors. In fact, low ratios and close interaction did exist in Entitlement because of the nature of the worksites developed; four-fifths had less than five youths. Very large worksites tended to be of lower quality, and while prime sponsors felt pressed to solicit some large sponsors to keep up with the pace of enrollments initially, there were

relatively few of these worksites, and they tended to diminish as a proportion of all worksites over time.

Why did prime sponsors not develop even more large worksites to meet their enrollment demand and to reduce the burden on the job development staffs? The reason appears to lie partly with program staff efforts and partly with the response of potential work sponsors. Work sponsors were solicited to provide year-round positions and to be prepared to sponsor a youth for up to two years. This appears to have affected their judgment on the number of youths they were willing to sponsor. Whereas public and nonprofit agencies have been willing in summer youth programs in the past to take large numbers of youths, perhaps more than they could effectively supervise, the prospect of large numbers of idle Entitlement youths on board for more than a few weeks appears to have tempered their decision. Furthermore, the private employers who signed up were primarily small businesses. (A random sample of private businesses interviewed in conjunction with a special study of private sector job development revealed that nearly two-thirds employed fewer than 10 regular employees, part-time or full-time.) Their profit motive and their size made them unwilling to sponsor large numbers of youths, even though wages were usually subsidized in full (Diaz, et al, 1980).

The small numbers of youths assigned to worksites also contributed to keeping the youths busy, as the analysis of indirect and direct effects tends to support, and as common sense would indicate. It is easier to keep the youths occupied, and to interact with them more frequently, if there are fewer on board. And busyness was a determinant of quality of all three parties: youths, work sponsors, and assessors.

Another set of determinants which are regarded as particularly important is the judgment of value which youths and work sponsors attached to job assignments. These judgments influenced the assessors' ratings, indicating that assessors took youth and sponsor satisfaction to be good indicators of quality. Furthermore, the work sponsors and the youths appeared to place some store in each others' judgments. It mattered to work sponsors that youths were satisfied with the assignment. And an element of the youths' quality judgment was whether sponsors regarded the work as important.

One feature of the Entitlement model may have contributed to the frequency with which both youths and work sponsors regarded the assignments as valuable. Youths did not have to stay at the same worksite, and in actuality, large numbers requested and received transfers from one worksite to another. The fact that work sponsors could request that a youth be re-assigned, and that the youths knew they could work at other worksites, meant that there was some freedom of choice for both parties. This appears to have contributed to the ability of both parties to develop mutually satisfactory working relationships.

The year-round character of the Entitlement Demonstration, and its operation for at least two years, required program staff to develop new worksites continuously. The turnover of work sponsors over the course of the demonstration attests to both the necessity of constant job development and to its achievement. Continued job development also added to quality. Since work sponsors could be replaced, program staff were able to eliminate some of the worst sponsors by attrition (see Diaz, et al, 1980). Even without extensive formal monitoring and corrective

action to improve worksite quality, program staffs could take a reactive stance and rely upon complaints of the youths or clearly observable problems to sort out poor quality worksites. When a youth requested a transfer, graduated, or in some other way left a worksite position vacant, program staff could simply not assign a new youth to the poor ones.

Thus, there appear to have been some self-regulating forces at work in Entitlement which may have made up for the difficulty which program staffs faced in developing large numbers of worksites or in monitoring them closely for quality. This does not argue, of course, for a laissez-faire attitude by prime sponsors. It may indicate, however, that features of the program model cushioned the process.

The analysis of quality determinants and indirect effects on quality would appear to support a tentative recommendation that, to further improve the quality of worksites, program staffs might wisely attend to careful job development work at the front end. Screening work sponsors for number of youths requested, kind of job to be assigned, and willingness of work sponsors to apply reasonable performance standards might increase the likelihood that the worksites would function with some quality and with enough work for youths to do, once the worksites became operational. Careful monitoring, assuming that the stock of willing work sponsors was not exhausted in a community, could consist of more careful attention to the first weeks of a worksite's operations, with attention paid to the attrition of those sponsors who did not seem likely to be interested in supervising youths closely. The analysis of program implementation has indicated that, with the possible exception of some rural locations, the stock of interested work sponsors has not been

depleted, even after 18 months of program operation. It takes training, experience, and fairly intensive staff resources to monitor worksites and help work sponsors improve their quality, but once routinized, quality improvement may be possible for the more effectively managed programs.

The relatively higher quality of worksites in Tier II programs reflects the ability of those staffs to pay more careful attention to the individual interests of work sponsors and youths. Structuring of the larger Tier I programs into decentralized centers of accountability and operation might permit those large programs to gain some of the luxury of tailored job development and close liaison which the smaller programs have attained.

Finally, the ability of prime sponsors to solicit jobs from private businesses greatly expanded the supply of possible worksites. It appears to have reduced the pressure on the programs to develop large worksites in the public and nonprofit sectors. Furthermore, two trends during the demonstration appear to have complemented each other. Several prime sponsors developed increasing proportions of job slots with private employers. Over the same period, the proportion of large public and nonprofit worksites declined. This cushion of large numbers of small businesses probably increased the overall quality of worksites as the demonstration matured.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

SAMPLING, DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS METHODOLOGY

This appendix describes how the data for the quality of work analysis were obtained, organized, and analyzed. The first section summarizes the nature of the sample of worksites from which data were gathered, and the sampling procedures which were followed. The second section details the methods and procedures of the data collection. The third section describes how the data were quantified, the ways in which variables suitable for statistical analysis were prepared, and the implications of these procedures for the outcomes.

Sample selection

There are several concerns which governed the nature of the sample of worksites to be assessed and the methods chosen for selecting it. A large enough sample had to be selected randomly to allow for statistically valid and generalizeable findings. It was important to have enough worksites from both tiers, from both modes of working hours (summer full-time and school-year part-time), and from each of the sectors of employment (private for-profit and public/nonprofit) to enable significant comparisons of data from all these groups. Another concern was that, with continuing job development and turnover of work sponsors, the "universe" of active work sponsors would not remain the same over the course of the demonstration. Sampling, therefore, had to be done at various points in time in order to ensure that new work sponsors had an equal chance of being drawn.

The sample was drawn from a listing of active work sponsors which is compiled monthly for each demonstration site by MDRC's Entitlement Information System (EIS). Samples for Tier I sites were drawn three times during the 1978-1979 school year, and once during both the summer and fall of 1979. For Tier II, the samples were drawn twice, during the summer and fall of 1979. Work sponsors were over-sampled by about 150 percent in the anticipation that some sponsors would not be able to be contacted or would have ceased to participate by the time they were contacted.

Sampling in Tier I was based on obtaining a similar total number of assessments from each of the demonstration sites. This was weighted, in the summer and fall 1979 samplings, to ensure having an adequate number of private sector work sponsors in these samples to permit comparisons with Tier II. Sampling for Tier II also took into account the number of private sector assessments needed for tier comparisons in each time period, but in this tier there were some very small programs and some which had few or no private sector sponsors. Sampling was therefore limited to eight of the tier sites. The weighted sample of private sector sponsors, in addition, was limited to the five sites which had more than a few such sponsors. A total of 120 Tier II worksites was drawn: 30 full-time and 30 part-time in each of the sector categories. The absolute number of worksites in the sample at each site in any given category was proportional to the various sizes of the sites.

A straightforward manual random selection method was used to draw work sponsors from each listing, applying an interval "skip" based on the length of any monthly EIS listing. If the sample called for 20 work

sponsors, for instance, from a listing of 200 at one site, then every tenth sponsor was selected. Work sponsors who came up again on subsequent sample drawings were eliminated, and the next sponsor on the list taken instead to ensure that new work sponsors would more likely be included.

A second level of random selection was applied at a few of the demonstration sites where there were some instances of large agencies being listed as single work sponsors, when in actuality they sponsored a number of totally separate worksites at various sub-agencies. Typically, these were large public agencies -- such as a public school district, under which there would be various separate schools acting as individual worksites. When such an agency was selected in the primary random draw, a special list identifying all the individual worksites was obtained, and a random number table was used to select one.

There was a total of 1,385 work sponsors drawn from the lists as described above, of which 520 were actually assessed to make up the final sample. Some of the reasons for the high rate of attrition have been explained already, including work sponsors who no longer were participating in Entitlement or did not have youths working at the time the worksite was contacted by field staff. Inability to locate, contact, and/or arrange worksite visits also accounted for some attrition.

It was decided that a minimum of 5 percent of the cumulative universe of active work sponsors would be included in the sample. Furthermore, the sample had to include at least 30 sponsors in each analytic grouping -- e.g., at least 30 part-time, private sector, Tier I sponsors, etc. One hundred and twelve worksites were assessed in Tier II, distributed proportionally as shown in Table A-1 (except for New York, where

there was a shortfall of eight part-time worksites between the two sector categories). There were 408 worksites from Tier I, with the minimum number required for the different working hour modes and sectors. The exact size of the sample varied slightly from site to site in Tier I (some field staff had time to complete more assessments than others), but there were at least 45 worksites from each. In comparing the total number of work sponsors in the sample -- 520 -- to the total cumulative number of sponsors active during the months of sampling, approximately 7 percent of all sponsors are in the sample -- about 6 percent of Tier I and 17 percent of Tier II.

Data collection

Data on the 520 worksites in the sample were collected during field visits to the actual worksites through a combination of observation and informal interviews with the youths assigned there and the youths' supervisors. The field assessors who went to the worksites prepared a semi-structured report -- in narrative form -- for each worksite, following an assessment instrument developed by the research staff. Both the form and substance of this instrument were based on the results of a review of the literature from a broad spectrum of related topics and disciplines. The literature review and the process of developing the instrument are described in some detail in Chapter I of this report.

Rather than serving as a structured interview form, the instrument was designed as an outline for the writing of a narrative report and a guide to the topics which would be looked at by field assessors at worksites. Five general aspects of a worksite were specified as the focus for each assessment report: Work Content, Organization and Manage-

ment of the Worksite, Supervision, Youth's Perception of the Value of the Assignment, and Value of the Work to the Sponsoring Agency. Under each category, a number of general and specific factors were identified which were to be written up in the reports in either specific detail or narrative discussion. A summary narrative provided the assessor's own evaluation of the overall quality of the worksite, and a similar evaluation covered each of the five major areas. Information which was to be elicited separately from either the assigned youths or the supervisor (or both) was specified in the instrument and reported in distinct parts of the assessment. The narrative report generally ran five to seven pages in length. Finally, each assessor gave a single numerical rating of the overall quality of each worksite. Table 1-2 (Chapter 1) summarizes the content of the instrument.

The numerical ratings of the assessors represented their overall individual evaluations and were not based on pre-set criteria provided to the assessors. The purpose of including them in the assessment reports was to have a finite, scalar summary of the impressions and observations of each assessor. These ratings could be more easily compared and used as part of a quantitative analysis than the unstructured, narrative summaries. Ratings were scaled from 1 to 4, with 1 indicating an "inadequate" worksite, 2 "adequate," 3 "good," and 4 "outstanding." Because part of the data analysis focused on exploring the relative importance and interrelationship of various worksite characteristics in the context of overall worksite quality, the specific characteristics that assessors used to determine their overall ratings were not rigidly defined a priori by the research staff.

There was a total of 19 individuals who performed the field data collection. The majority of it was done by a group of field research associates, one of whom was outstationed at each of the Tier I demonstration sites on a full-time basis. These staff members, aside from being responsible for conducting worksite assessments and gathering other research data, had the ongoing function of operation monitors of the local program for MDRC. In addition, various in-house field staff and outside consultants were used during the summer and fall of 1979 to conduct the data collection at Tier II sites, which did not have outstationed MDRC staff. The in-house staff were individuals with monitoring responsibilities for the sites at which they did worksite assessments. The outside consultants were experienced manpower professionals who previously had been involved with MDRC's research efforts on Entitlement through conducting extensive site interviews with program agents and staff, including visiting and reporting on worksites.

During the development of the assessment instrument, the outstationed staff were involved with field-testing its substance and format, and the research staff fully oriented them to the literature that was reviewed and the approach to assessing worksites described above in Chapter 1. This orientation process included both group sessions with the research team in New York City and joint worksite visits at the demonstration sites.

The field visits on which the assessment reports were based typically lasted two hours, during which time the field assessors spoke with as many of the assigned youths as were present, their supervisors and other work sponsor officials. They also spent time observing the work

performed by the youths. In the course of contacting worksites, arranging visits, and conducting the assessments, the field assessors followed a number of standard procedures which had been established by the research team to produce a general consistency in the substance of the assessments.

In order to see the working conditions as they normally operated, it was desirable to make unannounced visits; due to time constraints on the assessors, this was not always practically possible. It was essential that the supervisors and youths be present for the assessment, and it was usually difficult for the field staff to make multiple visits. This issue was particularly relevant during the school year, when youths only worked a few hours per day and had varying schedules, and at demonstration sites where worksites were geographically scattered. Since the main point of a visit was to avoid making an appointment in advance, the normal procedure (when a totally unannounced visit was unfeasible) was for the assessor to call the worksite, introduce himself, and determine the hours and day of the week during which the supervisors or youths would not be present or readily available. The supervisor would then be told that the visit would be made during the following week or two, without specifying a set date or time. If the supervisor could not be sure of his or her availability ahead of time, the assessor would call before going to the worksite to verify the supervisor's presence, but only as he was about to leave to make the visit. On rare occasions, the only way all parties could be present was to make an appointment; in such instances, assessors tried to make it for the same day.

As a general rule assessors talked with all the assigned youths who were present on the day of their visit. Because the amount of time they

could spend at a worksite was limited, this meant that at worksites with more than a few youths the assessors usually talked to them in a group, rather than individually. It was deemed important to have a sampling of the experiences and views of a range of assigned youths, even when this might involve losing some detail in the responses. Assessors usually spoke with the direct supervisors, although it was not uncommon for them also to talk to a department or agency head, personnel coordinator, or some other more senior, indirect supervisor during a worksite visit. It was emphasized, particularly when talking to the youths, that the information and opinions they provided were confidential and would not be shared with either the employer or the Entitlement staff.

Some of the larger worksites had several distinct and occasionally scattered work stations to which youths were assigned. When time constraints permitted, all operative work stations were included in the visit and covered in the assessment. When this was not logistically possible, at least two work stations were visited: the one with the greatest number of youths working, and another that (if possible) involved a substantively different type of job. Assessors would make an extra visit, if required, to cover both work stations.

Data preparation, construction of variables, and analysis

For quantitative analysis it was necessary to transform the data in the narrative assessment reports into data that could be treated as if it represented responses to formal questionnaires with pre-coded response categories. In other words, the data in the narratives had to be formally content-analyzed. In order to do so, standard procedures were employed. The specific factors covered in the field instrument were transformed into a formal questionnaire with pre-established possible

answers to each question. A panel of coders (all graduate students in the social sciences) was trained to complete the questionnaires by extracting the relevant information from the narratives of worksite organization and activity. The questionnaire and coding instructions were thoroughly tested, and the coders were carefully trained to only encode specific and clear information from the reports. If a coder could not find a clear mention or description of an item asked in the coding questionnaire, that item was coded "not specified." For each variable, each worksite was characterized by the response (value) coded by the model number of coders; if there was disagreement over how to describe the worksite, with two coders on one side and two on the other, the decision of a fifth coder was used to break the tie.

There were several coding problems posed by these procedures, primarily because the narratives varied in the degree of detail provided and because they were not written up according to a totally structured format. Thus, coders had to search for data in the narratives and had to deal with the fact that some of the data was either missing or unclear. In addition, there was the more common problem in content analysis -- i.e., simply translating prose into quantitative data. Inter-coder reliability was .743, a reasonably good figure under the circumstances (Scott, 1955; Berk, Brackman, and Lesser, 1977). In this way, the data in the assessors' site reports were transformed into quantitative data which could be used in statistical analyses.

Before the data could be satisfactorily analyzed, however, decisions had to be made about using the data to characterize worksites, dealing with partial or missing data, and measuring theoretically important variables.

A decision about characterizing worksites was needed because much of the data that had been gathered described jobs performed by the youths, while the main concern in the analysis was to be the worksites. For the 85.4 percent of worksites where all youths performed the same job, this presented no problem because characterizing the job and characterizing the worksite were the same. However, at 11.7 percent of the worksites there were two different jobs being performed by the youths, and at 2.9 percent of the worksites there were three. Because relatively few worksites had more than one job, and because having multiple descriptions of some worksites (one description for each job) would greatly complicate the analysis, it was decided to describe each site in terms of the dominant job on the site -- the job at which most of the youths worked.

For a variety of reasons, particularly the fact that the data were not originally collected according to a formal questionnaire, the assessors' narratives did not always provide enough data for the coders to answer specific questions. For example, approximately 25 percent of the narratives provided no information as to whether the youths' tasks required physical skills, and 10 percent provided no information about the need for mental skills. On some questions, information was provided, but it was not very precise; at most worksites, for example, it was possible to ascertain exactly how many years the supervisor had worked for the sponsoring agency, but at 6 percent the only available information was the supervisor had worked there for a long time.

It soon became clear from analyzing the results, reading the narratives, and discussing them with the assessors that absence of information

about an attribute in the narrative most often meant that the attribute was not conspicuously present at the worksite, nor, where absence was a relevant matter, was it conspicuously absent. Therefore, the following coding decision was made in order to minimize the problems caused by missing data. When a questionnaire item was intended to record the presence or absence of some characteristic at the worksite -- for example, whether or not the youths were given more responsibility as they progressed in their jobs -- the absence of information was treated as a negative answer. Thus, if there was no information about increasing responsibility, the worksite was treated as if responsibility was not increased over time.

For those questions where there were three possible answers -- whether the youths were busy most of the time, part of the time, or seldom, for example -- the absence of information was treated by putting the worksite into the middle category -- that is, neither high nor low. For those questions where specific objective information was required -- supervisor experience, number of youths at the site, etc. -- data were seldom missing, but where they were and there was no straightforward way of characterizing the worksite, they were simply treated as missing.

In general, this coding procedure is an extremely conservative one, in two ways. First, because of the way most questions were worded, treating the absence of information as the absence of the relevant attribute at a worksite implies that the number of negative characterizations of each worksite will tend to be exaggerated. Worksites will be described as lacking some quality both when they really lack it and when

assessors simply failed to clearly record any information about it, whether it is present or not. Thus, the procedure certainly underestimates worksite quality.

Second, this procedure will lead to estimates of the correlations among variables which are lower-bound estimates of the true correlations; that is, the absence of information is treated in such a way that the estimated correlations are lower than they would be if more information were available. When the problems of data collection are overcome in future studies, therefore, the relationships reported in the statistical analyses will almost surely be stronger than those reported here.

Once the decision about missing data had been made so that the amount of data treated as missing could be minimized, the next task was to develop measures of theoretically important variables. The process of developing such measures had two goals -- reducing the large number of individual variables for which data had been collected to a more manageable number for statistical analysis, and maximizing the reliability of the derived measures.

Data related to eight general aspects of worksites were analyzed (described in Chapters 2 and 3 and outlined in Table 3-1). Each aspect (except the overall site rating) was measured by a number of variables. For each of the aspects except worksite type, it was seen as possible that the specific variables might be combined into a smaller number of indices (there were neither theoretical nor practical reasons to try to do this with regard to worksite type). Therefore, all the variables describing each aspect of the worksites were statistically analyzed in two related ways; they were included in both principal components analyses and

reliability analyses. The aim of both was the same: to determine the extent to which the variables might be combined into indices, and to determine the reliability of the indices.

The results were essentially the same for both types of analyses, and were reported in summary form in Chapter 2; that is, in the form of the Chronbach's alpha for the measures actually derived. In a number of cases it was indeed possible to combine a number of variables into indices of considerable reliability. Thus, 13 variables measuring various aspects of supervision were combined into a single supervision index; three separate measures of the level of youth activity were combined into a busyness index; several different aspects of job content were made into a job content index; and so on. In those cases where it made sense substantively to view the index as the sum of a number of qualities -- the more ways in which supervisors interacted with youths, the better, for example -- the indices were created by simply adding up their components. In those cases where it made more sense to treat the individual variables as separate, but fundamentally equivalent measures of some underlying dimension -- supervisor, youth, and assessor descriptions of how busy the youths were, for example, being roughly equivalent measures of the same thing -- standardized measures of all the variables were averaged to create the index (Burstein, 1971; Chronbach, 1951; Heise and Bohrnstedt, 1971).

With regard to some aspects of the worksite, all the relevant variables could clearly be combined to create a single index, as in the case of supervision. In other areas, some of the variables could be combined with others, but some variables were essentially independent and

had to be treated as such in the regression analyses. Thus, job title, task rotation, training, and the use of mental skills were all closely related to each other and made up a reliable job content index. Other aspects of the job, such as the performance of simple, repetitive tasks, task rotation, the need for physical skills, and the need for social skills all had to be treated separately. This sort of result, in which composite measures include some but not all variables, is nearly universal in this sort of research, which is partly exploratory and deals with complex kinds of data.

In a general way, the results support the validity of the procedures developed to evaluate the worksites. A careful reading of the past literature on worksites led to the collection of data on eight theoretically specified aspects of the worksites. It was often possible to combine variables within each aspect into theoretically plausible indices, and the various measures of worksite organization and activity proved to be related to each other in ways which made considerable sense. It was possible to explain a significant proportion of the variance in worksite quality, and the specific statistical results were generally reasonable in ways which lent credence to the entire analysis procedure.

At the same time, however, the analysis of the data must be viewed as exploratory and the results as tentative. Because of the way in which the data were collected and then transformed into quantitative variables, there were considerable missing data, and at several points the reliability of the data was less than would be desirable. The best guess as to the impact of the mode of data collection on the results would be, as mentioned above, that the results would be clearer and stronger were the

study to be repeated and improved on the basis of the previous experience. Most of the problems in the data collection and analysis probably have the effect of weakening the relationships estimated to exist between variables. Unfortunately, it is not really possible with the given data set to definitively demonstrate this, nor is it possible to determine whether the flaws in the data had a consistent impact across types of variables and worksites. Future studies are most likely to produce similar but clearer results, but we cannot be sure.

APPENDIX B

Appendix to Chapter 3

For the regression analyses presented in Chapter 3, ordinary least squares regression analysis was used; the basic results are reported in the tables which follow. They present standardized regression coefficients (beta weights) gauging the impact of each of the independent variables on the dependent variables specified. For simplicity of presentation, variables are included in the tables of regression results only if their impact on the dependent variable was significant at the .05 level, either when all sites were analyzed together or in at least one of the sectors (private, public, or nonprofit). The coefficients and summary statistics are based, however, on equations in which all the variables listed in Table 3-1 were included.

The data are presented as follows: for the three major dependent variables -- assessor site rating, value to the sponsoring agency, and value to the youths -- the regression results are presented in three parts (Tables B-1 through B-3). Part A of each table presents the basic regression results, both for all worksites and for worksites within sectors. On the whole, the findings for the different sectors are similar, but the results are presented because of the special interest in differences among sectors. Parts B and C of each table present the data for each type of evolutionary analysis discussed in the text. Part B presents the results when variables are entered basically in time order, earliest first, with an eye to gauging the importance of the basic conditions of worksites for subsequent outcomes (See Duncan, 1970, for a

discussion of this approach). Part C presents the results of the analyses based on entering the variable types in reverse order, those causally closest to the dependent variable first.

TABLE B-1

DETERMINANTS OF OVERALL WORKSITE QUALITY
AS RATED BY SITE ASSESSOR

Independent Variables	Standardized Regression Coefficients			
	All Worksites[a]	Public Worksites	Non-Profit Worksites	For-Profit Worksites
A. Overall Regression Analysis				
Value to Agency Index	.093**	.077	.191**	.049
Youth Attitudes				
Value to youth index	.064*	.021	-.027	.094
Youth like job	.249**	.287**	.184**	.278**
Youth Busy Index	.290**	.349**	.314**	.184**
Content of Job				
Job content index	.159**	.102	.122	.191**
Job simple	-.094**	-.075	-.078	-.108*
Physical skills required	-.067**	-.020	-.196**	-.029
Tasks rotated	.083	.109*	.126	.030
Worksite Organization				
Awareness of Standards Index	-.046	.000	-.081	-.102*
Same standards applied	.078**	.007	.049	.108**
Youth know duties	.053	-.039	.100	.121**
Youth interact with Staff	.054	.046	.099	.117**
Youth : supervisor ratio	-.089**	-.152	.033	-.106*
Supervisor experience	.061*	-.019	.027	.118**
Total R^2	.41	.50	.44	.50

NOTES: *Significant at .05.
**Significant at .01.

TABLE B-1...continued

Independent Variables	Standardized Regression Coefficients-Increment to R^2			
	All Worksites[a]	Public Worksites	Non-Profit Worksites	For-Profit Worksites
B. Partioning of Variance According to the Duncan Method-Developmental Perspective				
Worksite Type Only	.04	.13	.05	.01
Add Content of Job	.14	.14	.11	.19
Add Worksite Organization	.07	.07	.11	.12
Add Supervisor-Youth Relationship	.01	.00	.00	.03
Add Youth Busy	.09	.11	.11	.05
Add Value to Agency	.01	.00	.02	.00
Add Youth Attitudes	.05	.05	.04	.06
Total R^2	.41	.50	.44	.46
C. Partitioning of Variance According to the Duncan Method-From Immediate to Distant Antecedent				
Youth Attitudes Only	.19	.21	.12	.22
Add Value to Agency	.06	.05	.14	.03
Add Youth Busy	.09	.15	.18	.05
Add Supervisor-Youth Relationship	.00	.00	.00	.03
Add Worksite Organization	.04	.05	.03	.07
Add Content of Job	.04	.03	.06	.04
Add Worksite Type	.01	.01	.01	.02
Total R^2	.41	.50	.44	.46

NOTES: [a]The F-level for this equation is 11.8, significant at less than .001; all of the regression equations reported in this appendix are significant at the .05 level, and most are significant at the .01 level, so F-statistics will not be reported separately for each equation.

TABLE B-2

DETERMINANTS OF VALUE TO SPONSORING AGENCY

Independent Variables	Standardized Regression Coefficients			
	All Worksites	Public Worksites	Non-Profit Worksites	For-Profit Worksites
A. Overall Regression Analysis				
Youth Busy Index	.164**	.224**	.191**	.077
Supervisor-Youth Relationship Index	.214**	.203**	.218**	.265**
Content of Job				
Job Simple	-.048	-.031	-.161**	.030
Tasks Rotated	-.046	-.128*	.061	-.055
Social Skills Required	.102**	.102	.088	.082
Worksite Organization				
Awareness of Standards Index	.098**	.012	-.006	.234**
Youth know Duties	.041	.070	.138**	-.054
Number Youths Appropriate	.073	.120*	.082	.054
Youth : Supervisor Ratio	-.160**	-.106	-.185*	-.097
Worksite Type				
Job in Tier I	.019	-.030	-.051	.136**
Jobs are Part-Time	-.091**	-.012	-.024	-.199**
Youth Attitudes				
Value to Youth Index	.070*	.073	.109	.062
Youth Like Job	.109**	.126*	.120*	.095
Total R^2	.27	.26	.42	.30

*Significant at .05.
**Significant at .01.

TABLE B-2....continued

Independent Variables	Standardized Regression Coefficients-Increment to R^2			
	All Worksites	Public Worksites	Non-Profit Worksites	For-Profit Worksites
B. Determinants of Value to Agency - Developmental Perspective				
Worksite Type Only	.03	.03	.07	.04
Add Content of Job	.08	.06	.14	.08
Add Worksite Organization	.07	.08	.09	.10
Add Supervisor-Youth Relationship	.05	.04	.06	.06
Add Youth Busy	.02	.04	.03	.01
Add Youth Attitudes	.02	.01	.03	.01
Total R^2	.27	.26	.42	.30
C. Determinants of Value to Agency - From Immediate to Distant Antecedents				
Youth Busy Only	.09	.09	.17	.04
Add Supervisor-Youth Relationship	.09	.05	.08	.13
Add Worksite Organization	.03	.08	.08	.05
Add Content of Job	.03	.03	.05	.01
Add Worksite Type	.01	.00	.01	.06
Add Youth Attitudes	.02	.01	.03	.01
Total R^2	.27	.26	.42	.30

TABLE B-3

DETERMINANTS OF VALUE TO YOUTH

Independent Variables	Standardized Regression Coefficients			
	All Worksites	Public Worksites	Non-Profit Worksites	For-Profit Worksites
A. Overall Regression Analysis				
Youth Busy Index	.115**	.027	.144*	.138**
Supervisor-Youth Relationship Index	.246**	.174**	.319**	.292**
Content of Job				
Job Content Index	.113**	.175**	.033	.091
Job Simple	-.059*	.179**	-.021	-.011
Physical Skills Required	-.008	.039	-.129*	.038
Social Skills Required	-.045	-.023	-.106*	-.004
Worksite Organization				
Awareness of Standards Index	.075**	.243**	.037	-.042
Youth Know Duties	.061*	.050	.081	-.047
Same Standards Applied	.069	.012	.019	.162**
Youth Interact with Staff	-.067*	-.151**	.096	-.175**
Tasks are Timed	-.190**	-.110*	-.112	-.265**
Youth : Supervisor Ratio	-.020	-.213**	.094	.023
Worksite Type				
Job in Tier I	-.146**	-.157**	-.205**	-.111*
Private Sector	.125**	n/a	n/a	n/a
Public Sector	.085	n/a	n/a	n/a
Jobs are Part-Time	.088**	.075	.029	.127**
"Special" Placement in Jobs	.100**	.162*	.074	.074
Number of Jobs at Site	.067*	.012	.106	.113*
Total R^2	.31	.35	.35	.36

NOTES: *Significant at .05.
**Significant at .01.

TABLE B-3....continued

Independent Variables	Standardized Regression Coefficients-Increment to R^2			
	All Worksites	Public Worksites	Non-Profit Worksites	For-Profit Worksites
B. Determinants of Value to Youth - Developmental Perspective				
Worksite Type Only	.10	.14	.13	.06
Add Content of Job	.06	.08	.04	.09
Add Worksite Organization	.09	.11	.09	.13
Add Supervisor-Youth Relationship	.05	.02	.08	.06
Add Youth Busy	.01	.00	.01	.02
Total R^2	.31	.35	.35	.36
C. Determinants of Value to Youth - From Immediate to Distant Antecedents				
Youth Busy Only	.04	.01	.08	.05
Add Supervisor-Youth Relationship	.14	.12	.15	.15
Add Worksite Organization	.07	.13	.06	.10
Add Content of Job	.02	.06	.02	.03
Add Worksite Type	.04	.05	.04	.03
Total R^2	.31	.35	.35	.36

APPENDIX C

WORKSITE PROFILES

In the body of this report a variety of worksite characteristics which played a part in determining the quality of work at any given site have been described and analyzed. Various measures by which a level of quality could be assigned to worksites have also been discussed. In order to understand better, in descriptive terms, what constitutes a very good worksite as opposed to a basically adequate or clearly inadequate worksite, this appendix provides a narrative profile of some examples of each type. These descriptions are drawn directly from the narrative reports prepared by the field assessors, on which the data were based.

While each of the worksites described below exhibit some positive and some negative characterisitcs, each one received an overall rating from the field assessor which represented a summary judgment of all aspects of the worksite. The worksites in the highest category were rated as "outstanding" by the field assessors. Those in the lowest category were scored as "clearly inadequate," and those in the middle were considered to meet some basic standards of acceptability. As discussed in this report, there can be some variance of opinion about the finer distinctions among levels of quality, but those presented here very clearly represent these gross categories. Several types of jobs are described, including both tiers and several different types of employing work sponsors. This reflects the fact that there were extremes of quality -- as well as mundane levels -- in worksites of all types. It is hard to say that any specific worksite is really "typical" of those found

in any category of quality, so the ones described here necessarily all have their unique aspects.

An example of one worksite which is simply adequate is a small high school in a rural community -- a Tier I work sponsor. There are three youths assigned to clean the classroom buildings (during the part-time school-year phase of their job) and also to perform basic maintenance duties in the summer. The assigned tasks include straightforward chores of dusting, sweeping, and mopping for the clean-up assignments, and relatively routine chores in the summer such as painting, repairing bleachers, and installing fences. The youths check in with the building principal every day when they arrive and work together with a supervisor, either singly or in pairs. The relationship between youths and their supervisor is based on primarily work-related interfacing, either in the course of working or when the primary supervisor (head of maintenance) or the principal checks up on the youths to make sure that they are doing the work properly and keeping busy. These particular jobs do not have any relationship to the vocational interests of any of the youths, but they were the "best jobs available at the time" for each of the youths. The youths did not appear to the assessor to be gaining any substantive job skills nor did they tell him they felt they were learning or using any.

While these jobs involve little variety or skill demands, the supervisor expects the work to be done properly and in a timely manner; the youths must have cleaned the classrooms and rest of the school buildings by the time they leave at the end of the afternoon, during the part-time phase. The supervisor checks to see that this is done. The

school definitely needs to have this work done, and the youths are aware of that. The interaction between the youths and the supervisor was seen as positive; the youths respected their supervisors and vice-versa. Overall, the youths "are pleased with this worksite because the supervision is good, an interest is shown in them, and everybody is working." Two of these youths had previously been assigned to a worksite where there was little supervision and enrollees did not work "except when someone came to check on them." In this case, good work habits are being reinforced.

In sum, this is not an exciting worksite, but it is one that meets the basic tenets of Entitlement. The youths are kept busy, and are expected to meet some basic work performance standards. The supervision is consistent and reasonably close, with adequate feedback to the youths of the worth of their work and the quality of their individual performance. Skills training and direct value toward obtaining future employment is not part of this work experience, but real exposure to the general demands of a job (punctuality, timely completion of assigned tasks, and meeting acceptable standards for work performed) certainly exists. In addition, the youths at this worksite perceive that these jobs -- while not ideal in terms of the basic nature of the tasks or their long-range interests -- nevertheless provide them with a good work experience and a sense that they are doing productive work.

In contrast to this worksite are two which clearly fall short of acceptable standards. One such is an urban storefront youth referral agency run by the local police department, another Tier I work sponsor. At this worksite there are two youths assigned to keep the place neat and

answer the phone, along with some out-of-doors clean-up responsibilities. Their tasks involve, besides telephones, dusting, straightening up, watering flowers, vacuuming, and picking up litter in the shopping center outside. The supervisor, a local police officer, knows at least one of these youths from his work with the surrounding community and had arranged to have him (and several others currently not working) assigned to the storefront.

The supervisor expects the youths to come to work on time and to follow instructions, but he "does not allow the youths to do any really difficult jobs." He also "has very low expectations for the performance of these youths," although his relationship with them is informal and friendly. While the youths think they are acquiring some knowledge about work habits, they do not feel they are learning or acquiring any skills, or performing work which has any value "except to the beauty salon next door." (The youths are sometimes loaned out to this salon to help clean when they do not have enough to do at the storefront.) The monitor observes that their main work in the small storefront facility amounts to "what a janitor might do in an hour or so per day; however, there are two and sometimes more youths conducting these same duties for up to four hours per day."

Here the supervisor does not feel that the assigned youths are capable of doing more than very simple, menial tasks, and has not made any effort (beyond the "loaning-out") to provide additional or different work. There is a lot of idle time on a consistent basis, which is not balanced by any indication of active, constructive learning, supervision or work content. The only positive factor which might be attributed to

this worksite is that the youths do not mind it and get along reasonably well with the supervisor.

Along similar lines, though with an added dimension of problems, is an urban auto repair shop at a Tier I site. One youth is assigned to empty trash cans, clean up, run errands, and (only very occasionally) help the mechanics pump up the brakes on a car. As the monitor describes the situation: "The tasks assigned are routine with little to be learned from performing them and little effort (by the supervisor) to introduce the youth to new tasks. While there is probably a sufficient quantity of work to be done, it is repetitive. Whatever the youth might do (at best) is keep the trash under control. Because the youth is not assigned to work on cars, he is not really integrated into the regular workforce."

The youth at this worksite is learning radio/TV repair in school, and on the basis of the mis-match of interests that this job represents, he dislikes it and sees no value to it or learning for himself. The supervisor in no sense works with the youth, but rather "keeps an eye on him" in the course of doing other things, and will assign him, on occasion, to clean up around his own nearby house. He and the youth have had problems in the past, with the youth reported as lazy and undependable (which almost led to the youth being fired), and their relationship is a "tenuous one, with either party ready to pull out at a moment's notice." The work performed by the youth is of some marginal value to the business, but the employer really only wants (and only has the time for) a relatively self-motivated youth who would be willing and able to work well with little supervision. One of the several problems with this worksite is, in fact, the inability or unwillingness of the supervisor to

try to add to the job in any way, including spending time with the youth and involving him with other activities. Furthermore, the value of keeping a filthy area only partly filthy is, at best, marginal. Finally, the job has nothing to offer the youth from his point of view, (leaving aside the personality conflicts), and it is not convenient for the youth to get there from school.

At the other end of the scale, there is a small, two-person law firm which recently opened for business at a Tier II site. The one youth assigned here works as a clerk-secretary, with the duties of answering phones, composing and typing letters, preparing (filling out) legal forms, filing briefs with the county court office, general filing, photocopying and stocking supplies. This youth came to the worksite with basic (50 words per minute) typing skills, but was additionally trained on the use of a push-button intercom phone, calculator, and Xerox machine which were new to her but required for the job. Particularly during the part-time working component, in the field assessor's words, there is "more than enough to do, and...there seems to be a healthy amount of work almost all the time." The supervisors (two lawyers) take into account that this youth is "only in high school" in their evaluation and expectations of her, but after that, they "then judge her against an adult legal secretary who worked for them in another office." The lawyers "admit that they could not survive without the youth." The business is new and cannot afford a full-time secretary, and prior to this placement, they apparently were hindered in their ability to take on new clients by having to do all the clerical work themselves. The youth, on her part, sees this job as providing her with skills which will be valuable to her

in future employment, as one which will give her a useful reference, and one where her own contribution is valuable enough so that her employers want to hire her when she finishes school.

This worksite is an example of the combination of an exemplary worksite and an unusually competent and motivated youth. The lawyers who own and run this business need the work of a subsidized employee and were willing to train a marginally-qualified employee as their contribution to the program and their own needs. Faced with a youth who was more than normally mature and motivated, they responded by not only training and providing her with a supportive working atmosphere, but also by encouraging her to exceed her limits and goals. The type of training the youth received corresponds to that which would be required for many youths with basic skills, but the employers added to it by recognizing and fostering the talents which the youth exhibited, even to the point where they influenced the youth to make a career choice. In summary, this is a job which inherently involves a number of tasks -- all of which are necessary and appreciated -- and variety, coupled with supervisors who are clearly willing and able to work with the youth to expand the performance and scope of her work. While the particular youth assigned was obviously a model youth herself, the basic nature, structure, and working environment at this worksite is positive in and of itself.

A rather different, but equally good, worksite (Tier I) is at a main rural high school where one youth is assigned to a variety of cleaning, fixing, and repairing tasks. However, as the field assessor puts it, "This is not your everyday maintenance job. The youth has been given a great deal of responsibility, and his scope of duties expanded far

beyond janitorial-type assignments." Aside from cleaning the auditorium, shop and kitchen areas, the youth is involved with repairing furniture and dispensing machines, painting, tracking and ordering needed supplies, changing lock combinations, and locking up at night. The training for these various tasks has been continuous and of increasing challenge as the youth has mastered each and the opportunity to introduce him to something else (e.g., a new kind of repair job) has occurred. The youth works side-by-side with a member of the custodial staff, and between regular duties and special assignments given out daily by the head custodian, they both are working almost all the time. There is a close rapport between the supervisor and the youth, with constant interaction observed by the field assessor including constructive criticism and praise. The enrollee not only enjoys the work and the relationship, but likes and feels he has benefited from the degree of responsibility, training, and work experience he has been given. The supervisor "stated emphatically that he could not complete all of the work without the youth," and the school -- like many public agencies -- is in a funding situation that "has created tight staffing patterns which (this placement) helps to alleviate."

To summarize the strengths of this worksite, "the work content is varied and challenging for the youth; he is kept very busy; he and his supervisor get along extremely well, and both feel that they are getting the better end of the placement." Given the fact that this is a type of job which almost any youth would be able to do, regardless of previous experience or skills, the type of work experience which has been generated here is impressive. Like the law firm described above, the combi-

nation of the range of work available -- and needed -- and the concern and effort put forth by the regular staff to enhance the experience of the youth has resulted in a clearly outstanding Entitlement worksite.

APPENDIX D

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